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THE
HISTORY

OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

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By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.



IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. X.

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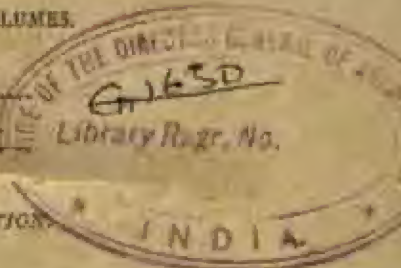
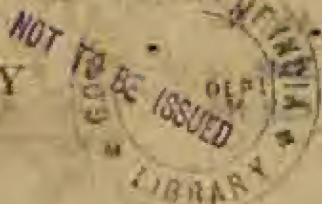
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE



CHAP. LII.

*The two sieges of Constantinople by the Arabs.—
Their invasion of France, and defeat by Charles
Martel.—Civil war of the Omeyyades and Abbas-
ides.—Learning of the Arabs.—Luxury of the
Caliphs.—Rapid conquests in Crete, Sicily, and
Rome.—Decay and division of the empire of the
Caliphs.—Defects and victories of the Greek ex-
perts.*

WHEN the Arabs first issued from the desert, CHAP. LII.
they must have been surprised at the ease and
rapidity of their own success. But when they
advanced in the career of victory to the banks of The limits
of the
Arabian
conquests.
the Indus and the summit of the Pyrenees: when
they had repeatedly tried the edge of their syme-
tars and the energy of their faith, they might be

CHAP. ^{LII} equally astonished that any nation could resist their invincible arms, that any boundary should confine the dominion of the successor of the prophet. The confidence of soldiers and fanatics may indeed be excused, since the calm historian of the present hour, who strives to follow the rapid course of the Saracens, must study to explain by what means the church and state were saved from this impending, and, as it should seem, from this inevitable danger. The deserts of Scythia and Sarmatia might be guarded by their extent, their climate, their poverty, and the courage of the northern shepherds; China was remote and inaccessible; but the greatest part of the temperate zone was subject to the mahometan conquerors, the Greeks were exhausted by the calamities of war and the loss of their fairest provinces, and the barbarians of Europe might justly tremble at the precipitate fall of the Gothic monarchy. In this inquiry I shall unfold the events that rescued our ancestors of Britain, and our neighbours of Gaul, from the civil and religious yoke of the korm; that protected the majesty of Rome, and delayed the servitude of Constantinople; that invigorated the defence of the christians, and centred among their enemies the seeds of division and decay.

First siege
of Constanti-
nople by
the Arabs.

Forty-six years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, his disciples appeared in arms under the walls of Constantinople.* They were animated by a genuine or fictitious saying of the

* Thompson places the siege years in the siege of Constantinople in the year of our christian era 672 (of the Alexandrian 662, Sept. 11, and the year of the Saracens, four years afterwards); a glaring inaccu-

prophet, that, to the first army which besieged the city of the Cæsars, their sins were forgiven: the long series of Roman triumphs would be meritoriously transferred to the conquerors of new Rome; and the wealth of nations was deposited in this well-chosen seat of royalty and commerce. No sooner had the caliph Moawiyah suppressed his rivals and established his throne, than he aspired to expiate the guilt of civil blood, by the success and glory of his holy expedition;* his preparations by sea and land were adequate to the importance of the object; his standard was entrusted to Sophiza, a veteran warrior, but the troops were encouraged by the example and presence of Yezid, the son and presumptive heir of the commander of the faithful. The Greeks had little to hope, nor had their enemies any reasons of fear, from the courage and vigilance of the reigning emperor, who disgraced the name of Constantine, and imitated only the inglorious years of his grandfather Heracles. Without delay or opposition, the naval forces of the Saracens passed through the unguarded channel of the Hellespont, which even now, under the

CHAP.
LII.A. D.
668-678.

agency † which Peterkin, Gour, and Page (*Critica*, tom. ii, p. 63, 64), have struggled to remove. Of the Arabians, the *Ingles* 32 (a. n. 677, January 8), is assigned by Eusebius; the year 43 (a. n. 668, Feb. 20), by Abulfeda, whose testimony I govern the most convenient and available.

* For this first siege of Constantinople, see Niephors, *Chronicon*, p. 21, 22; Theophanes *Chronograph*, p. 204; Cedrenus (*Compend*, p. 457); Zonaras (*Hist. tom. ii, l. xiv*, p. 29); Eusebius (*Hist. Sacra*, p. 46, 57); Abulfeda (*Annal. Mamluk*, p. 107, 108, *voss. Hist.*); *Cherchez*; *États*; *Orlent*; *Compendium*; *Delany's History of the Saracens*, vol. ii, p. 127, 128.

the able and disorderly government of the Turks, is maintained as the natural bulwark of the capital. The Arabian fleet cast anchor, and the troops were disembarked near the palace of Hebdomon, seven miles from the city. During many days, from the dawn of light to the evening, the line of assault was extended from the golden gate to the eastern promontory, and the foremost warriors were impelled by the weight and effort of the succeeding columns. But the besiegers had formed an insufficient estimate of the strength and resources of Constantinople. The solid and lofty walls were guarded by numbers and discipline; the spirit of the Romans was exalted by the last danger of their religion and empire; the fugitives from the conquered provinces more successfully renewed the defence of Damascus and Alexandria; and the Saracens were dismayed by the strange and prodigious effects of artificial fire. This firm and effectual resistance diverted their arms to the more easy attempts of plundering the European and Asiatic coasts of the Propontis; and, after keeping the sea from the month of April to that of September, on the approach of winter they retreated fourscore miles from the capital, to the Isle of Cyprus, in which they had established their

* The title and nature of the Dissertation is referred to the Memoires of the Bureau des Langues, iv. p. 72-77. This was said to four 44) challenges and the Bureau. From a principal cause, I should have expected more accurate history; but it seems to suffer by the same cause, rather than the negligence of the writer. Perhaps, on the appearance of the work, the affairs of Constantinople were, after that of Osmoth, by finding a Country near, who should and previously the same year.

magazine of spoil and provisions. So patient was their perseverance, or so languid were their operations, that they repented, in the six following summers, the same attack and retreat, with a gradual abatement of hope and vigour, till the mischances of shipwreck and disease, of the sword and of fire, compelled them to relinquish the tentless enterprise. They might bewail the loss, or commemorate the martyrdom of thirty thousand Moslems, who fell in the siege of Constantinople; and the solemn funeral of Abu Ayub, or Job, excited the curiosity of the christians themselves. That venerable Arab, one of the last of the companions of Mahomet, was numbered among the *auxiliarys*, or *auxiliaries*, of Medina, who sheltered the head of the flying prophet. In his youth he fought, at Beder and Uhud, under the lady standard: in his mature age he was the friend and follower of Ali; and the last remnant of his strength and life, soon consumed in a distant and dangerous war against the enemies of the Koran. His memory was revered; but the place of his burial was neglected and unknown, during a period of seven hundred and eighty years, till the conquest of Constantinople by Mahomet the second. A reasonable vision (for such are the manufactures of every religion) revealed the holy spot at the foot of the walls and the bottom of the harbour; and the march of Ayub has been deservedly chosen for the simple and martial inauguration of the Turkish cultus.^a

^a D'Hervey's *Chronicle*, &c. *Life of the Great Turques*, p. 104, 106. H. and C. *State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 10, 11. *Voyage de Constantinople*, p. 102. The christians who suppose that the march

CHAP.
LII.Peace and
truce,
p. 577.

The event of the siege revived, both in the East and West, the reputation of the Roman arms, and cast a momentary shade over the glories of the Saracens. The Greek ambassador was favourably received at Damascus, in a general council of the emirs or koreish; a peace, or truce, of thirty years, was ratified between the two empires; and the stipulation of an annual tribute, fifty horses of a noble breed, fifty slaves, and three thousand pieces of gold, degraded the majesty of the commander of the faithful.* The aged caliph was desirous of possessing his dominions, and ending his days in tranquillity and repose; while the Moors and Indians trembled at his name, his palace and city of Damascus was insulted by the Mardaites, or Maronites, of Mount Libanus, the firmest barrier of the empire, till they were disarmed and transplanted by the suspicious policy of the Greeks.† After the revolt of Arabia and Persia, the house of Ommyah‡ was reduced to the king-

Also a schism violently commenced with the patriarch Job, bearing their own ignorance rather than that of the Turks.

* Theophanes, though a Greek, deserves credit for these tributes (Chronograph. p. 293, 294-300, 301), which are confirmed, with some variation, by the Arabic History of Abulpharagius (Dyname. p. 138, vers. French).

† The censures of Theophanes is just and pointed, see *Imperium Romanum supereminens*, &c. &c. *notiones summe mundi a Imperio* &c. &c. *Agathas imperatoris* &c. (Chronograph. p. 303, 303). The series of these events may be traced in the Annals of Theophanes, and in the Abjurgation of the Patriarch Nicephorus, p. 12-14.

‡ Their domestic revolutions are related in a clear and natural style, in the second volume of Ockley's History of the Saracens, p. 253-370. Besides our printed authors, he draws his materials from the Arabic ms. of Oxford, which he would have more deeply

dams of Syria and Egypt; their distress and fear CHAP. enforced their compliance with the pressing de- 411.
mands of the christians; and the tribute was in-
creased to a slave, an horse, and a thousand pieces
of gold, for each of the three hundred and sixty-
five days of the solar year. But as soon as the em-
pire was again united by the arms and policy of
Abdalmalek, he disclaimed a badge of servitude
not less injurious to his conscience than to his
pride; he discontinued the payment of the tribute;
and the resentment of the Greeks was disabled
from action by the mad tyranny of the second Jus-
tinian, the just rebellion of his subjects, and the
frequent change of his antagonists and successors.
Till the reign of Abdalmalek, the Samaritans had been
content with the free possession of the Persian and
Roman treasures, in the coin of Chusroes and Cæ-
sar. By the command of that caliph, a national
mint was established, both of silver and gold, and
the inscription of the dinar, though it might be
contested by some superstitious casuists, proclaimed
the unity of the God of Mahomet.* Under the

searched, but he been confined to the Bodleian library instead of the
city jail; & how unworthy of the man and of his country!

* Hübner, who gives the first account, *v. n.* 76, *v. n.* 803, 812 &c.
six years later than the Greek historians, has compared the weight of
the first or common gold dinar, to the aghas of dihem of Egypt,
p. 71, which may be equal to the present 44 grains of our Troy
weight (Hübner's *Antiquities of Ancient Mesopotamia*, p. 74-85), and is
equivalent to eight shillings of our minting money. From the same
Hübner and the Arabian physicians, some dinars as high as one
dhem, or ten or twelve a dihem, may be deduced. The price of
silver was the dihem, here its value and weight; but no gold, though
the only struck at Wasit, *v. n.* 85, and preserved in the Bodleian
library,

CHAP.
LII

reign of the Caliph Waleed, the Greek language and characters were excluded from the accounts of the public revenue.¹ If this change was productive of the invention or familiar use of our present numerals, the Arabic or Indian cyphers, as they are commonly styled, a regulation of office has promoted the most important discoveries of arithmetic, algebra, and the mathematical sciences.²

second
age of
Constanti-
nople.

116-118.

Whilst the caliph Waleed sat idle on the throne of Damascus, while his lieutenants achieved the conquest of Transoxiana and Spain, a third army of Saracens overspread the provinces of Asia Minor, and approached the borders of the Byzantine capital. But the attempt and disgrace of the second siege was reserved for his brother Solomon, whose ambition appears to have been quickened by a more active and martial spirit. In the revolutions of the Greek empire, after the tyrant Justinian had been punished and expelled, no humble secretary, Anastasius or Artemiûs, was promoted by chance

library, which has given rise to the *Code constantin*, and the *Modern Code*. *History*, tome iv. p. 100, of the French Revolution.

¹ The Arabian alphabet follows the letters not dependent on vowels, and depends on the vowels. *Code*, tom. i. p. 100, where also is a notice of the Arabic alphabet, and a table of the letters. *Code*, tom. i. p. 100. This notice is a very accurate one, and is followed by the *Code*, tom. i. p. 100. The notice is a very accurate one, and is followed by the *Code*, tom. i. p. 100.

² According to a very, though probable author, mentioned by M. de Voltaire, *Annals*, tome iv. p. 112, 113, the cyphers are not of Indian or Arabic invention. They were used by the Greeks and Romans, and were only before the age of Aristotle. After the invention of printing in the West, they were adopted by the Arabs, and were then the original use, and preserved in the Eastern world, and the West.

granted to the vacant purple. He was alarmed CHAP.
III.
by the sound of war; and his ambassador returned from Damascus with the tremendous news, that the Saracens were preparing an armament by sea and land, such as would transcend the experience of the past, or the belief of the present age. The precautions of Anastasius were not unworthy of his station, or of the impending danger. He issued a peremptory mandate, that all persons who were not provided with the means of subsistence for a three years siege, should evacuate the city: the public granaries and armaments were abundantly replenished; the walls were restored and strengthened; and the engines for casting stones, or darts, or fire, were stationed along the ramparts, of in the brighttimes of war, of which an additional number was hastily constructed. To prevent, it safer, as well as more honourable, than to repel an attack; and a design was meditated, above the usual spirit of the Greeks, of burning the naval stores of the enemy, the cypress timber that had been hewn in mount Taurus, and was piled along the sea-shore of Phœnicia, for the service of the Egyptian fleet. This generous enterprise was defeated by the cowardice or treachery of the troops, who, in the raw language of the empire, were styled of the *obsequious theme*.* They deserted their chief, deserted their standard in the tide of

* In the division of the theme, as previously detailed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in (Thematika, l. i. p. 8, 10), the obsequious, or the obsequious of the army and police, who are bound to the public order. — None was the metropolis, and its jurisdiction extended from the Hellespont over the different parts of Bithynia and Thracia. — The two maps published by Daines to the Imperial Collection of Medals.

CHAP.
LII.

Rhodes, dispersed themselves over the adjacent continent, and deserved pardon or reward by investing with the purple a simple officer of the revenue. The name of Theodosius might recommend him to the senate and people; but, after some months, he sunk into a cloyster, and resigned, to the firmer hand of Leo, the Isaurian, the urgent defence of the capital and empire. The most formidable of the Saracens, Moatemah, the brother of the caliph, was advancing at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand Arabs and Persians, the greater part mounted on horses or camels; and the successful sieges of Tyana, Amorium, and Pergamus, were of sufficient duration to exercise their skill, and to elevate their hopes. At the well-known passage of Abydes, on the Hellespont, the mahometan arms were transported, for the first time, from Asia to Europe. From thence, wheeling round the Thracian cities of the Propontia, Moatemah invested Constantinople on the land side, surrounded his camp with a ditch and rampart, prepared and planted his engines of assault, and declared, by words and actions, a patient resolution of expecting the return of seed-time and harvest, should the obstinacy of the besieged prove equal to his own. The Greeks would gladly have ransomed their religion and empire, by a fine or assessment of a piece of gold on the head of each inhabitant of the city; but the liberal offer was rejected with disdain, and the presumption of Moatemah was exalted by the speedy approach and invincible force of the navies of Egypt and Syria. They are said to have

amounted to eighteen hundred ships: the number betrays their inconsiderable size; and of the twenty stout and capacious vessels, whose magnitude impeded their progress, each was manned with no more than one hundred heavy armed soldiers. This huge armada proceeded on a smooth sea and with a gentle gale, towards the mouth of the Bosphorus; the surface of the strait was overshadowed, in the language of the Greeks, with a moving forest, and the same fatal night had been fixed by the Saracen chief for a general assault by sea and land. To allure the confidence of the enemy, the emperor had thrown aside the chain that usually guarded the entrance of the harbour; but while they hesitated whether they should seize the opportunity, or apprehend the snare, the ministers of destruction were at hand. The fireships of the Greeks were launched against them; the Arabs, their arms, and vessels, were involved in the same flames; the disorderly fugitives were dashed against each other, or overwhelmed in the waves: and I no longer find a vestige of the fleet, that had threatened to extirpate the Roman name. A still more fatal and irreparable loss was that of the caliph Sotman, who died of an indigestion^a in his camp near Kinnistin, or Chalkis, in Syria, as he was preparing to lead against Constantinople the remaining forces

^a The caliph had emptied two baskets of eggs and of figs, which he swallowed alternately, and the report was concluded with warren and sugar. In one of the pilgrimages to Mecca, Sotman had, it is thought, eaten, voraciously postprandium, a kid, six fowls, and a large quantity of the grapes of Tyre. If the bill of fare be correct, we must attribute the appetite rather than the luxury of the sovereign of Asia (Whitaker, *Annals of Islam*, p. 126).

CHAP. of the East. The brother of Moslemah was succeeded by a kinsman and an enemy; and the throne of an active and able prince was degraded by the useless and pernicious virtues of a bigot. While he started and satisfied the scruples of a blind conscience, the siege was continued through the winter by the neglect rather than by the resolution of the caliph Omar.* The winter proved unseasonably rigorous: above an hundred days the ground was covered with deep snow, and the natives of the sultry climes of Egypt and Arabia lay torpid and almost lifeless in their frozen camp. They revived on the return of spring: a second effort had been made in their favour; and their distress was relieved by the arrival of two numerous fleets, laden with corn, and arms, and soldiers; the first from Alexandria, of four hundred transports and galleys; the second of three hundred and sixty vessels from the ports of Africa. But the Greek fires were again kindled, and if the destruction was less complete, it was owing to the experience which had taught the muslims to remain at a safe distance, or to the perfidy of the Egyptian mariners, who deserted with their ships to the emperor of the christians. The trade and navigation of the capital were restored; and the produce of the fisheries supplied the wants, and

* See the article of *Emir Ben Abdallah*, in the *Biographical Dictionary* of the *Emirs*, and the *Biographical Dictionary* of the *Emirs*, vol. 1, p. 171, col. 1, line 1. He was a descendant of the prophet, and he would not have accepted the title of caliph, or of any other title, until he had first been acknowledged by the people. The caliph had only one son, and in an age of luxury his moral depravity was no more than a natural consequence of his position. *History of the Emirs*, p. 111. *History of the Emirs*, p. 111. *History of the Emirs*, p. 111.

even the luxury, of the inhabitants. But the calamities of famine and disease were soon felt by the troops of Moslemah, and as the former was miserably diminished, so the latter was dreadfully propagated, by the pernicious nutriment which hunger compelled them to extract from the most unclean or unnatural food. The spirit of conquest, and even of enthusiasm, was extinct: the Saracens could no longer straggle beyond their lines, either single or in small parties, without exposing themselves to the merciless retaliation of the Thracian peasants. An army of Bulgarians was attracted from the Danube by the gifts and promises of Leo; and these savage auxiliaries made some atonement for the evils which they had inflicted on the empire, by the defeat and slaughter of twenty-two thousand Asiatics. A report was dexterously scattered, that the Franks, the unknown nations of the Latin world, were arming by sea and land, in the defence of the christian cause, and their formidable aid was expected with far different sensations in the camp and city. At length, after a siege of thirteen months,* the hopeless Moslemah received from the caliph the welcome permission of retreat. The march of the Arabian cavalry over the Hellespont, and through the provinces of Asia, was executed without delay or molestation: but an army of their brethren had been cut in pieces

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received from
the caliph the
welcome permission
of retreat.

* Both Nearchus and Theophrastus agree that the siege of Constantinople was raised the 15th of August (A.D. 718): but as the former, who lived 4 years, affirms that it continued 13 years, the latter must be mistaken in supposing that it began on the 15th of the preceding year. I do not find that Procopius agrees with Theophrastus.

ordinary composition, should suspect his own ignorance, and that of his Byzantine guides, so prone to the marvellous, so careless, and, in this instance, so jealous of the truth. From their obscure, and perhaps fallacious hints, it should seem that the principal ingredient of the Greek fire was the *naphtha*,* or liquid bitumen, a light, tenacious, and inflammable oil,† which springs from the earth, and catches fire as soon as it comes in contact with the air. The naphtha was mingled, I know not by what methods or in what proportions, with sulphur and with the pitch that is extracted from ever-green fir.‡ From this mixture,

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* The words, the almost incredible of the history of Jerusalem (Hist. Hist. per Francos, p. 1107), the Oriental Continuation of James de Vitry (l. ii. c. 80), is introduced on slight evidence and strong possibility. Ctesarion (l. vi. p. 165), calls the Greek fire *naphtha*, and the apparatus known to abound between the Tyre and the Caspian seas. According to Pliny (Hist. Natur. l. ii. 109), it was ascribed to the country of Arabia, and in other geography the same name, or rather *Phlegma*, is used. Quod. l. vi. c. 11, may fairly signify this liquid bitumen.

† On the different sorts of oil and bitumen, see Dr. Wharton's (the present bishop of Landaff's) Chemical Essays, vol. II. every is a classic book, the best adapted to inform the taste and knowledge of chemistry. The last perfect blast of the ancients may be found in Strabo (Geograph. l. xiv. p. 1679), and Pliny (Hist. Natur. l. ii. 109, 110). Strabo (Nepher) makes mention of a species of bitumen produced in some unknown parts of Asia. Of our translators I am best pleased with Ouseley (l. i. p. 125-126).

‡ Anna Comnena has partly drawn aside the curtain. *See* her history, but still more various facts are to be found in the works of the same author. There are also various authorities in various authors on the same subject. See the works of the same author. (Hist. l. iii. p. 283). Elsewhere (l. vi. p. 340) she mentions the pro-

CHAP. III. which produced a thick smoke and a loud explosion, produced a fierce and obstinate flame, which not only rose in perpendicular ascent, but likewise burnt with equal vehemence in descent or lateral progress; instead of being extinguished, it was nourished and quickened, by the element of water; and sand, urine, or vinegar, were the only remedies that could damp the fury of this powerful agent, which was justly denominated by the Greeks, the *liquid*, or the *starving* fire. For the annoyance of the enemy, it was employed with equal effect, by sea and land, in battles or in sieges. It was either poured from the ramparts in large boilers, or launched in red-hot balls of stone and iron, or darted in arrows and javelins, twisted round with flax and tow, which had deeply imbibed the inflammable oil: sometimes it was deposited in fire-ships, the victims and instruments of a more ample revenge, and was most commonly blown through long tubes of copper, which were planted on the prow of a galley, and fancifully shaped into the mouths of savage monsters, that seemed to vomit a stream of liquid and consuming fire. This important art was preserved at Constantinople, as the palladium of the state; the gallees and artillery might occasionally be lent to the allies of Rome; but the composition of the Greek fire was concealed with

party of lighting, name of weapon and its location. Entry in the 21st chapter of the Taktika (Byzant. Manual. trans. etc. p. 243, edit. Lamb. Florent. 1781), speaks of the true composition of *very pure powder and acids*. There are genuine and Imperial testaments.

the most jealous scruple, and the terror of the enemies was increased and prolonged by their ignorance and surprise. In the treatise of the administration of the empire, the royal author² suggests the answers and excuses that might best elude the indiscreet curiosity and importunate demands of the barbarians. They should be told that the mystery of the Greek fire had been revealed by an angel to the first and greatest of the Constantines, with a sacred injunction, that this gift of heaven, this peculiar blessing of the Romans, should never be communicated to any foreign nation: that the prince and subject were alike bound to religious silence, under the temporal and spiritual penalties of treason and sacrilege; and that the impious attempt would provoke the sudden and supernatural vengeance of the God of the christians. By these precautions, the secret was confined, above four hundred years, to the Romans of the East; and, at the end of the eleventh century, the Pisans, to whom every sea and every art were familiar, suffered the effects, without understanding the composition, of the Greek fire. It was at length either discovered or stolen by the mahometans; and, in the holy wars of Syria and Egypt, they retorted an invention, contrived against themselves, on the heads of the christians. A knight, who despised the swords and lances of the Saracens, relates, with heartfelt sincerity, his own fears, and those of his companions, at the sight and sound of the mischievous engine

² Constantine Porphyrogenitus, de Administrat. Imperij, c. 28. p. 64, 65.

CHAP. that discharged a torrent of the Greek fire, the
 III. *feu Grecquois*, as it is styled by the more early of the French writers. It came flying through the air, says Joinville,² like a winged long-tailed dragon, about the thickness of an hog's head, with the report of thunder, and the velocity of lightning; and the darkness of the night was dispelled by this deadly illumination. The use of the Greek, or, as it might now be called, of the Saracen fire, was continued to the middle of the fourteenth century,³ when the scientific or casual compound of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal, effected a new revolution in the art of war, and the history of mankind.*

Invasion of
 France by
 the Arabs,
 A. D. 732.
 An.

Constantinople and the Greek fire might exclude the Arabs from the eastern entrance of

² *Histoire de St. Louis*, p. 38. Paris, 1666, p. 44. *Paro de l'imprimerie Royale*, 1761. The former of these editions is preferred for the character of the language; the latter for the pure and original text of Joinville. We must have recourse to this text to discover, that the *feu Grecquois* was that with a pole as Joinville, from an engine that acted like a sling.

³ The unity, or unity, of shaking the established property of France, has tempted some moderns to carry gunpowder above the sixteenth century (see Sir William Temple, *Dissertation*, and the *Greek fire* above the sixteenth century (see the *Notice du President des Brevets*, tom. II, p. 281); but their evidence, which precedes the vulgar use of the invention, is seldom clear or satisfactory, and subsequent writers may be suspected of being as credulous. In the earliest ages, some combination of oil and sulphur have been used, and the Greek fire has some affinity with gunpowder both in nature and effects: for the antiquity of the first, a passage of Procopius (de *Rek. Goth.* l. IV, c. 11); for that of the second, some facts in the *Arabian History of Spain* (A. D. 1249, 1252, 1253, *Rollin's Ann. Hist.* tom. II, p. 9, 7, 8), are the most difficult to elude.

⁴ That celebrated man, Peter Bacon, reveals two of the ingredients, sulphur and asphalt, and demands the third in a sentence of government prohibition, as if he dreaded the consequences of his own discovery (*Biographie Britannique*, vol. I, p. 430, new edition).

Europe; but in the West, on the side of the Pyrenees, the provinces of Gaul were threatened and invaded by the conquerors of Spain.* The decline of the French monarchy invited the attack of these insatiate fanatics. The descendants of Clovis had lost the inheritance of his martial and ferocious spirit; and their misfortune or demerit has affixed the epithet of *lazy* to the last kings of the Merovingian race.† They ascended the throne without power, and sunk into the grave without a name. A country palace, in the neighbourhood of Compiègne,‡ was allotted for their residence or prison; but each year, in the

* For the history of France, and the descent of the Arabs by Charles Martel, see the *Historia Arithm.* (c. 11, 12, 13, 14) of Roderic Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, who had taken from the christian chronicle of Isidore Paterius, and the Mohammedan history of Nizami. The *Muslims* are *called* or *examined* for the *history* of their *land*, but M. Cardonne (*Ann.* l. p. 118, 120, 131) has given a good and simple account of all that he could collect from the *Hadiths*, *Hadiths*, and an *original* writer. The *text* of the *Chronicle* of France, and lives of saints, are inserted in the *collection* of *Antiquities*, lvi and the *Annals* of *France* who form. vi. under the proper year; but removed the *chronology*, which is *unimpaired* for years in the *Annals* of *Baronius*. The *Dictionary* of *Bayle* (*Albion* and *Albion*) has more merit for lively reflection than original research.

* *Epiphanius*, de *Vita* *Comiti* *Magis*, c. 11, p. 13-14, edit. Schenck, Utrecht, 1711. Some modern critics suppose the mischiefs of Charlemagne of exaggerating the weakness of the Merovingians; but the general opinion is just, and the French reader need not regret the loss of the *History* of *France* of *Isidore* the *Yakov*.

* *Memoirs* of the *Orator*, between *Compiègne* and *Noyon*, which *Epiphanius* calls *propria* *villam* *non* *de* *re*, and the *way* of *ancient* *France* for *Dom* *Augustin* *Collin*, *Compendium*, or *Compiègne*, was a palace of *poor* *duchy* (*Hadith* *Volunt* *Notitia* *Germania*, p. 137), and that *imaging* *philosophy*, the *Alde* *Hadith* (*Hadith* *non* *Compiègne* *dit* *Hadith*, *may* *truly* *afflict*, that it was the *cradle* of the *real* *tye* *Christian* or *tye* *clerk*.

CHAP.
LII

—

month of March or May, they were conducted in a waggon drawn by oxen to the assembly of the Franks, to give audience to foreign ambassadors, and to ratify the acts of the mayor of the palace. That domestic officer was become the minister of the nation, and the master of the prince. A public employment was converted into the patrimony of a private family: the elder Pepin left a king of mature years under the guardianship of his own widow and her child: and these feeble regents were forcibly dispossessed by the most active of his bastards. A government, half savage and half corrupt, was almost dissolved; and the tributary dukes, the provincial counts, and the territorial lords, were tempted to despise the weakness of the monarch, and to imitate the ambition of the mayor. Among these independent chiefs, one of the boldest and most successful was Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, who, in the southern provinces of Gaul, usurped the authority and even the title of king. The Goths, the Gascons, and the Franks, assembled under the standard of this christian hero: he repelled the first invasion of the Saracens; and Zama, lieutenant of the caliph, lost his army and his life under the walls of Thoulouse. The ambition of his successors was stimulated by revenge: they repassed the Pyrenees with the means and the resolution of conquest. The advantageous situation which had recommended Narbonne* as the

* Even before this railway, L. c. p. 630 (Vallée Palenzuela, l. 16, in the time of Pelayo (Hist. l. vi. p. 74), edit. Grunewald).
Narbonne

first Roman colony, was again chosen by the Moslems; they claimed the province of Septemania or Languedoc as a just dependence of the Spanish monarchy; the vineyards of Gascony and the city of Bourdeaux were possessed by the sovereign of Damascus and Samarra; and the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone, assumed the manners and religion of Arabia.

But these narrow limits were scorned by the spirit of Abdalrahman, or Abderame, who had been restored by the caliph Hashem to the wishes of the soldiers and people of Spain. That veteran and daring commander adjudged to the obedience of the prophet whatever yet remained of France or of Europe, and prepared to execute the sentence, at the head of a formidable host, in the full confidence of surmounting all opposition either of nature or of man. His first care was to suppress a domestic rebel, who commanded the most important passes of the Pyrenees; Munuza, a Moorish chief, had accepted the alliance of the duke of Aquitain; and Eudes, from a motive of private or public interest, devoted his beautiful daughter to the embraces of the African misbeliever. But the strongest fortresses of Cerdagne were invested by a superior force; the rebel was overtaken and slain in the mountains; and his widow was sent a captive to Damascus, to gratify the desires, or more probably the vanity, of the

Expedition
and victory
of Ab-
derame,
A. D. 731.

Narbonne was a Celtic town of the first antientness, and one of the most northern places of the known world, (Ptolemy, *lib. 2. c. 10.* Strabo *lib. 4. c. 1.* Cassiodorus *lib. 1. c. 12.*)

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commander of the faithful. From the Pyrenees, Abderame proceeded without delay to the passage of the Rhone and the siege of Arles. An army of christians attempted the relief of the city: the tombs of their leaders were yet visible in the thirteenth century; and many thousands of their dead bodies were carried down the rapid stream into the Mediterranean sea. The arms of Abderame were not less successful on the side of the ocean. He passed without opposition the Garonne and Dordogne, which unite their waters in the gulf of Bourdeaux; but he found, beyond those rivers, the camp of the intrepid Eudes, who had formed a second army, and sustained a second defeat, so fatal to the christians, that, according to their sad confession, God alone could reckon the number of the slain. The victorious Saracen overran the provinces of Aquitain, whose Gallic names are disguised, rather than lost, in the modern appellations of Perigord, Saintogne, and Poitou: his standards were planted on the walls, or at least before the gates, of Tours and of Sens; and his detachments overspread the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the well-known cities of Lyons and Besançon. The memory of these devastations, for Abderame did not spare the country or the people, was long preserved by tradition; and the invasion of France by the Moors, or mahometans, affords the ground-work of those fables, which have been so wildly disfigured in the romances of chivalry, and so elegantly adorned by the Italian muse. In the decline of society and art, the deserted cities could supply a slender

booty to the Saracens; their richest spoil was found in the churches and monasteries, which they stripped of their ornaments and delivered to the flames: and the tutelur saints, both Hilary of Poitiers and Martin of Tours, forgot their miraculous powers in the defence of their own sepulchres.² A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire: the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the highlands of Scotland: the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet.³

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From such calamities was christendom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man. Charles, the illegitimate son of the elder Pepin, was content

*Defeat of
the Saracens
by
Charles
Martel.
A. D. 732.*

² With regard to the caputary of St. Martin of Tours, Bede's *Historia* mentions the burning of the church. Towards the year 732, a violent exultation prevailed at several small shrines in the neighbourhood of Poitiers, and a number of monks were killed. The accounts of these events are given in the *Annals of the French Monarchy*. At the same time, the French annals were more full of the names of the saints.

³ Yet I sincerely doubt whether the *Qoran* would ever produce a volume of controversy so elegant and ingenious as the *sermons* lately preached by Mr. Waring the Arabic professor at Mr. Humphrey's lecture. His observations on the character and religion of Mahomet, are always adapted to his argument, and generally supported by truth and reason. He assumes the part of a lively and eloquent advocate, and sometimes that of an historian and philosopher.

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with the titles of mayor or duke of the Franks, but he deserved to become the father of a line of kings. In a laborious administration of twenty-four years, he restored and supported the dignity of the throne, and the rebels of Germany and Gaul were successively crushed by the activity of a warrior, who, in the same campaign, could display his banner on the Elbe, the Rhone, and the shores of the ocean. In the public danger, he was summoned by the voice of his country; and his rival, the duke of Aquitaine, was reduced to appear among the fugitives and suppliants. "Alas!" exclaimed the Franks, "what a misfortune! what an indignity! We have long heard of the name and conquests of the Arabs: we were apprehensive of their attack from the East; they have now conquered Spain, and invade our country, on the side of the West. Yet their numbers, and (since they have no buckler) their arms, are inferior to our own." "If you follow my advice," replied the prudent mayor of the palace, "you will not interrupt their march, nor precipitate your attack. They are like a torrent, which it is dangerous to stem in its career. The thirst of riches, and the consciousness of success, redouble their valour, and valour is of more avail than arms or numbers. Be patient till they have loaded themselves with the incumbrance of wealth. The possession of wealth will divide their counsels, and assure your victory." This subtle policy is perhaps a refinement of the Arabian writers;

and the situation of Charles, will suggest a more narrow and selfish motive of procrastination; the secret desire of humbling the pride, and wasting the provinces, of the rebel duke of Aquitain. It is yet more probable, that the delays of Charles were inevitable and reluctant. A standing army was unknown under the first and second race; more than half the kingdom was now in the hands of the Saracens: according to their respective situation, the Franks of Neustria and Austrasia were too conscious or too careless of the impending danger; and the voluntary aids of the Gepidae and Germans were separated by a long interval from the standard of the christian general. No sooner had he collected his forces, than he sought and found the enemy in the centre of France, between Tours and Poitiers. His well-conducted march was covered by a range of hills, and Aldemare appears to have been surprised by his unexpected presence. The nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe, advanced with equal ardour, to an encounter which would change the history of the world. In the six first days of desultory combat, the horsemen and archers of the East maintained their advantage: but in the closer onset of the seventh day, the orientals were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans, who, with stout hearts and iron hands,¹ asserted the civil

* *Quia ARMIS multisqueque pre-armatis validis, et pueri Germani, non erant ex eoque prestantissimi, quod in bellis civilibus daretur; potius enim Arabes exterminii (Hudob. Tatham. l. 116.)*

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and religious freedom of their posterity. The epithet of *Martel*, the *Hammer*, which has been added to the name of Charles, is expressive of his weighty and irresistible strokes: the valour of Eudes was excited by resentment and emulation; and their companions, in the eye of history, are the true peers and paladins of French chivalry. After a bloody field, in which Abderame was slain, the Saracens, in the close of the evening, retired to their camp. In the disorder and desquair of the night, the various tribes of Yemen and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other: the remains of their host were suddenly dissolved, and each emir consulted his safety by an hasty and separate retreat. At the dawn of day, the stillness of an hostile camp was suspected by the victorious christians: on the report of their spies, they ventured to explore the riches of the vacant tents; but, if we except some celebrated relics, a small portion of the spoil was restored to the innocent and lawful owners. The joyful tidings were soon diffused over the catholic world, and the monks of Italy could affirm and believe that three hundred and fifty, or three hundred and seventy-five thousand of the Mahometans had been crushed by the hammer of Charles; while no more than

* These numbers are stated by Paul Warrand, the deacon of Aquilata in the *Library Evangelicæ* l. ii. p. 521, and *Adrianus*, the librarian of the Roman church (in *Vit. Gregor. p. 1*) who tells a surprising story of three annihilated spears, which rendered incredible

fifteen hundred christians were slain in the field of Tours. But this incredible tale is sufficiently disproved by the caution of the French general, who apprehended the snares and accidents of a pursuit, and dismissed his German allies to their native forests. The inactivity of a conqueror betrays the loss of strength and blood, and the most cruel execution is inflicted, not in the ranks of battle, but on the backs of a flying enemy. Yet the victory of the Franks was complete and final: Aquitaine was recovered by the arms of Eudes; the Arabs never resumed the conquest of Gaul, and they were soon driven beyond the Pyrenees by Charles Martel and his valiant race.^a It might have been expected that the saviour of Christendom would have been canonised, or at least applauded, by the gratitude of the clergy, who are indebted to his sword for their present existence. But in the public distress, the mayor of the palace had been compelled to apply the riches, or at least the revenues, of the bishops and abbots, to the relief of the state and the reward of the soldiers. His merits were forgotten, his sacrilege alone was remembered, and, in an epistle to a Carolingian prince, a Gallic synod presumes to declare that his

They re-
sented his
force the
Vandal.

retails the French soldiers among whom they had been slain. It should seem, that in his letters to the pope, Eudes sought the honour of the clergy, for still he was censured by the French assemblies, who, with equal selfishness, accuse him of betraying the common

^a Narbonne, and the rest of Septimania, was recovered by Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, A. D. 753 (Pagi, *Cronica*, tom. iii. p. 355). Thirty-seven years afterwards it was pillaged by a sudden revolt of the Arabs, who imposed the tribute on the destruction of the march of Gascon, the *Caesars*, that was known, *ibid.* p. 358.

CHAP. ancestor was damned; that on the opening of his
 III. tomb, the spectators were affrighted by a smell
 of fire and the aspect of an horrid dragon; and
 that a saint of the times was indulged with a
 pleasant vision of the soul and body of Charles
 Martel, burning, to all eternity, in the abyss of
 hell.*

Elevation
 of the Ab-
 basides,
 or the
 Tenthid.

The loss of an army, or a province, in the
 Western world, was less painful to the court of
 Damascus, than the rise and progress of a do-
 mestic competitor. Except among the Syrians,
 the enclips of the house of Ommiyah had never
 been the objects of the public favour. The life
 of Mahomet recorded their perseverance in ido-
 latri and rebellion; their conversion had been
 reluctant, their elevation irregular and factious,
 and their throne was cemented with the most holy
 and noble blood of Arabia. The best of their
 race, the pious Omar, was dissatisfied with his
 own title: their personal virtues were insufficient
 to justify a departure from the order of succession;
 and the eyes and wishes of the faithful were
 turned towards the line of Hashem and the kindred
 of the apostle of God. Of these the Fatimites
 were either rash or pusillanimous; but the de-
 scendants of Abbas cherished, with courage and
 discretion, the hopes of their rising fortunes.
 From an obscure residence in Syria, they secretly

* This partial letter, addressed to Louis the German, the grand-
 son of Charlemagne, and more probably composed by the pen of the
 ardent Hincmar, is dated by the year 828, and signed by the bishop of
 the province of Sens and Auxois. Hincmar, *Annal. Rebus.* c. 11.
 741. Fleury, *Hist. Roman.* tom. 4, p. 514-515. (See Hincmar *Im-
 petr.* and the French critics, as, not withstanding this supposititious letter,

dispatched their agents and missionaries, who CHAP.
 preached in the eastern provinces their hereditary III.
 indefeasible right; and Mohammed, the son of
 Ali, the son of Abdallah, the son of Abbas, the
 uncle of the prophet, gave audience to the depu-
 tation of Chorasan, and accepted their free gift of
 four hundred thousand pieces of gold. After the
 death of Mohammed, the oath of allegiance was
 administered in the name of his son Ibrahim to a
 numerous band of votaries, who expected only a
 signal and a leader; and the governor of Chorasan
 continued to deplore his fruitless admonitions and
 the deadly slumber of the caliphs of Damascus,
 till he himself, with all his adherents, was driven
 from the city and palace of Meru, by the rebellious
 arms of Abu Moslem.* That maker of kings,
 the author, as he is named, of the *call* of the
 Abbassides, was at length rewarded for his pre-
 sumption of merit with the usual gratitude of
 courts. A mean, perhaps a foreign, extraction,
 could not repress the aspiring energy of Abu
 Moslem. Jealous of his wives, liberal of his
 wealth, prodigal of his own blood and of that of
 others, he could boast with pleasure, and possibly
 with truth, that he had destroyed six hundred
 thousand of his enemies; and such was the in-
 trepid gravity of his mind and countenance, that
 he was never seen to smile except on a day of

* The sword and the mallet which had cut off one of his wives
 were instantly killed or burnt, lest they should be afterwards requir-
 ed by a male. Twelve hundred mules of mules were required for
 his Arabian territories; and the daily consumption amounted to three
 thousand cakes, six hundred sheep, besides wine, poultry, &c. (Abu-
 pharigius, Hist. Dynast. p. 190).

CHAP. LII. *battle.* In the visible separation of parties the *green* was consecrated to the Fatimites; the *Ommiades* were distinguished by the *white*; and the *black*, as the most adverse, was naturally adopted by the *Abbassides*. Their turbans and garments were stained with that gloomy colour: two black standards, on pike-staves nine cubits long, were borne aloft in the van of Abu Moslem; and their allegorical names of the *night* and the *shadow*, obscurely represented the indissoluble union and perpetual succession of the line of Husein. From the Indus to the Euphrates, the East was convulsed by the quarrel of the white and the black factions; the *Abbassides* were most frequently victorious; but their public success was clouded by the personal misfortune of their chief. The court of Damascus, awakening from a long slumber, resolved to prevent the pilgrimage of Mecca, which Ibrahim had undertaken with a splendid retinue, to recommend himself at once to the favour of the prophet and of the people. A detachment of cavalry intercepted his march and arrested his person; and the unhappy Ibrahim, snatched away from the promise of untasted royalty, expired in iron fetters in the dungeons of Haran. His two younger brothers, Saffah and Almanzor, eluded the search of the tyrant, and lay concealed at Cufa, till the zeal of the people and the approach of his eastern friends allowed them to expose their persons to the impatient public. On Friday, in the dress of a caliph, in the colours of the sect, Saffah proceeded with religious and military pomp to the mosch: ascending the pulpit, he prayed

and preached as the lawful successor of Mahomet; and, after his departure, his kinsmen bound a willing people by an oath of fidelity. But it was on the banks of the Zab, and not in the marsh of Cufa, that this important controversy was determined. Every advantage appeared to be on the side of the white faction: the authority of established government; an army of an hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, against a sixth part of that number; and the presence and merit of the caliph Mervan, the fourteenth and last of the house of Ommyyah. Before his accession to the throne, he had deserved, by his Georgian warfare, the honourable epithet of the ass of Mesopotamia;* and he might have been ranked among the greatest princes, had not, says Abulfeda, the eternal order decreed that moment for the ruin of his family; a decree against which all human prudence and fortitude must struggle in vain. The orders of Mervan were mistaken or disobeyed: the return of his horse, from which he had dismounted on a necessary occasion, impressed the belief of his death; and the enthusiasm of the black squadrons was ably conducted by Abdallah, the uncle of his competitor. After an irretrievable defeat, the caliph escaped to Mosul; but the

* *Al Hinn*. He had been governor of Mesopotamia, and the Arabs proverbially praise the courage of that marshy land of men who save it from its enemy. The surname of Mervan may justify the comparison of Homer (*Iliad*, ii. 535, *Ac.*); and both will denote the warrior, who considers the sea as a steep and ignominious retreat. (*d'Hartolau, Histoire Orient.* p. 257.)

CHAP.
LII.

Fall of the
Omniscides;
i. e. 747.
Feb. 10.

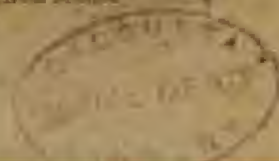
colours of the Abbassides were displayed from the rampart; he suddenly repassed the Tigris, cast a melancholy look on his palace of Haran, crossed the Euphrates, abandoned the fortifications of Damascus, and, without halting in Palestine, pitched his last and fatal camp at Basir on the banks of the Nile.* His speed was urged by the incessant diligence of Abdallah, who in every step of the pursuit acquired strength and reputation: the remains of the white faction were finally vanquished in Egypt; and the lance, which terminated the life and anxiety of Mervan, was not less welcome perhaps to the unfortunate than to the victorious chief. The merciless inquisition of the conqueror eradicated the most distant branches of the hostile race: their bones were scattered, their memory was accursed, and the martyrdom of Hussein was abundantly revenged on the posterity of his tyrants. Fourscore of the Omniscides, who had yielded to the faith

* Four several places, all in Egypt, bore the name of Basir, or Basilis, as nations in Greek Latin. The first, where Mervan was slain, was in the west of the Nile in the province of Fiken, or Aridiana; the second in the Delta, in the Schiara; the second the third, near the pyramids; the fourth, which was destroyed by the Moslems two above, vol. x. p. 439, is the Theban. I shall here transcribe a note of the learned and orthodox Michaelis: *Videtur in plerisque Egypti scriptoribus scribere Basir. Ceterum cum impudens Christiani, libertinorum de religione omnimoda defensione, sed circumspectius quæ in pelle Captus et Basiræ scriptis, et alibi Egypti magna scriptis editis. Bellum nostrum et nostrum bellum ignominiosum scriptis Christianis, aliquid Captus et Basiræ non rebellare dicitur, sed puerum Christianum non puerum (N. d. III, p. 100). For the geography of the four Basirs, see Anstett (Description Egypte, p. 9, vers. Michaelis, Göttinge, 1776, in 4to, Michaelis, Nos. 127-131, p. 52-55, and d'Anville, Mémoires de l'Académie, p. 92, 147, 212.*

or clemency of their foes, were invited to a banquet at Damascus. The laws of hospitality were violated by a premeditated massacre: the board was spread over their fallen bodies; and the festivity of the guests was enlivened by the music of their dying groans. By the event of the civil war the dynasty of the Abbassides was firmly established; but the christians only could triumph in the mutual hatred and common loss of the disciples of Mahomet.²

Yet the thousands who were swept away by the sword of war might have been speedily retrieved in the succeeding generation, if the consequences of the revolution had not tended to dissolve the power and unity of the empire of the Saracens. In the proscription of the Omniades, a royal youth of the name of Abdalrahman alone escaped the rage of his enemies, who hunted the wandering exile from the banks of the Euphrates to the valleys of Mount Atlas. His presence in the neighbourhood of Spain revived the zeal of the white faction. The name and cause of the Abbassides had been first vindicated by the Persians; the West had been pure from civil arms; and the servants of the abdicated family still held, by a precarious tenure, the inheritance of their

² See *Abulpharaj* (*Arab. Hist.* p. 110-115); *Eschiquier* (*Annal.* ii. p. 382, vers. Paris); *Hamaker* (*Hist. Sarac.* p. 108-131); *Abulpharaj* (*Ann. Dynast.* p. 124-140); *History of Toledo* (*Hist. Arabum*, v. 18, p. 57); *Theophanes Continuatus* p. 306, 332, who speaks of the Abbassides under the name of Bagdadites, and Bagdadites; and the *Chronology of Herbelot*, in the articles of *Abulpharaj*, *Hamaker*, *Hamaker*, *Sagala*, *Arab. Hist.*



CHAP.
III.

lands and the offices of government. Strongly prompted by gratitude, indignation, and fear, they invited the grandson of the caliph Hashem to ascend the throne of his ancestors; and, in his desperate condition, the extremes of rashness and prudence were almost the same. The acclamations of the people saluted his landing on the coast of Andalusia; and, after a successful struggle, Abdalrahman established the throne of Cordova, and was the father of the Omniades of Spain, who reigned above two hundred and fifty years from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees.* He slew in battle a lieutenant of the Abbassides, who had invaded his dominions with a fleet and army: the head of Ali, in salt and camphire, was suspended by a daring messenger before the palace of Mecca, and the caliph Almansor rejoiced in his safety, that he was removed by seas and lands from such a formidable adversary. Their mutual designs or declarations of offensive war evaporated without effect: but instead of opening a door to the conquest of Europe, Spain was discovered from the trunk of the monarchy, engaged in perpetual hostility with the East, and inclined to peace and friendship with the christian sovereigns of Constantinople and France. The example of the Omniades was imitated by the real or fictitious progeny of Ali, the Efrisites of Mauritania, and the more powerful Fatimites of Africa and Egypt. In

Triple division
of the
caliphate.

* For the geography of Spain, consult *History of Toledo* to. xviii. p. 34, 40; the *Illustrations Arabeles Hispaniques* to. i. p. 30, 129; and *Catalogue d'Art. de l'Espagne et de l'Espagne*, tom. i. p. 180, 185, 202, 212, 322, 425.

the tenth century, the chair of Mahomet was disputed by three caliphs or commanders of the faithful, who reigned at Bagdad, Cairoan, and Cordova, excommunicated each other, and agreed only in a principle of discord, that a sectary is more odious and criminal than an unbeliever.

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III.

Mecca was the patrimony of the line of Hashem, yet the Abbassides were never tempted to reside either in the birth-place or the city of the prophet. Damascus was disgraced by the choice, and polluted with the blood, of the Omniades; and after some hesitation, Almanzor, the brother and successor of Saffah, laid the foundations of Bagdad,* the imperial seat of his posterity during a reign of five hundred years.* The chosen spot is on the eastern bank of the Tigris, about fifteen miles above the ruins of Modair: the double wall was of a

Significance of
the sample,
L. F.
190-000

I shall not stop to refute the strange claims and fancies of the William Temple (the Works, vol. III, p. 373-374, second edition) and Voltaire (*Œuvres Complètes*, t. XVIII, book II, p. 124, 125, edition de Lacombe), concerning the derivation of the Spanish empire. The mischiefs of Voltaire proceeded from the want of knowledge or reflection; but the William was deceived by a Spanish impostor, who has framed an apocryphal history of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs.

The geographers d'Arville (*l'Asie et le Tigre*, p. 113-120, and the *Orientales d'Harbois* (*Bibliothèque*, p. 197, 186), and the for the knowledge of Bagdad. Our materials, *Paras della Vana* (tom. 1, p. 488-500); *Taverina* (tom. 1, p. 232-235); *Taverina* (part. II, p. 208-210); *Orser* (tom. 1, p. 167-168); and *Mistake* (*Voyage en Asie*, tom. 3, p. 228-271), have been only the story 2 and the *Nation* geographies (p. 208), and the *franc-tig Jew*, *Benjamin* of Tadmor (*Historiograph*, p. 112-123, 1 *Cham* *Principes*, and *Epistole*, 1833), and the only writers of my acquaintance, who have known Bagdad under the reign of the Abbassides.

1 The foundation of Bagdad with laid a. d. 133, a. m. 702. Mohammed, the last of the Abbassides, was taken and put to death by the Tartars, a. m. 656, a. d. 1258, the 10th of February.

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LII.

circular form: and such was the rapid increase of a capital, now dwindled to a provincial town, that the funeral of a popular saint might be attended by eight hundred thousand men and sixty thousand women of Bagdad and the adjacent villages. In this city of peace,* amidst the riches of the East, the Abbassides soon disdained the abstinence and frugality of the first caliphs, and aspired to emulate the magnificence of the Persian kings. After his wars and buildings, Almanzor left behind him in gold and silver about thirty millions sterling;† and this treasure was exhausted in a few years by the vices or virtues of his children. His son Mahadi, in a single pilgrimage to Mecca, expended six millions of dinars of gold. A pious and charitable motive may sanctify the foundation of cisterns and caravanseras, which he distributed along a measured road of seven hundred miles; but his train of camels, laden with snow, could serve only to astonish the natives of Arabia, and to refresh the fruits and liquors of the royal banquet.‡ The courtiers

* *Mahmud al Khatib, Hist. al Khatib*. *Utaq-pasa*, or, as is more nearly transcribed by the Constantinian writers, *Kassab-pasa* (*Quasqupasa*). There is some dispute respecting the etymology of Bagdad, but the first syllable is allowed to signify a garden in the Persian language; the garden of God, a Christian heretic, whose cell had been the only habitation in the spot.

† *Bagdad* is variously estimated within miles squares, at quarters of *Quasqupasa* in the seven squares. *Hayat*, *Hist. Khatib*, p. 170. I have multiplied the said places at eight millions, and the progression of the story is better to see. But I will not venture for the number of *Khatib* and the Latin key, especially since the change in the language of *Khatib*.

‡ *Utaq-pasa*, p. 170. *Almanzor*, p. 144. *Shah Mehem* appears, *qut*, *rem* and *bagdad* and *mehem* *qut*.

would surely probe the liberality of his grandson Alamanon, who gave away four-fifths of the income of a province, a sum of two millions four hundred thousand gold dinars, before he threw his foot from the stirrup. At the nuptials of the same prince, a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of the bride,* and a lottery of lands and houses displayed the capricious bounty of fortune. The glories of the court were brightened rather than impaired in the decline of the empire; and a Greek ambassador might admire or pity the magnificence of the feeble Mactander. "The caliph's whole army," says the historian Abulfeda, "both horse and foot, was
 "under arms, which together made a body of
 "one hundred and sixty thousand men. His
 "state-officers, the favourite slaves, stood near
 "him in splendid apparel, their belts glittering
 "with gold and gems. Near them were seven
 "thousand eunuchs, four thousand of them white,
 "the remainder black. The porters or door-
 "keepers were in number seven hundred. Barges
 "and boats, with the most superb decorations,
 "were seen swimming upon the Tigris. Nor was
 "the palace itself less splendid, in which were
 "hung up thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry,
 "twelve thousand five hundred of which were ad-

* Almidali, p. 184, 189, describes the splendour and liberality of Alamanon. Milton has alluded to this oriental custom:

— "As when the gorgeous East, with richest hand,

Scatters on her Kings Barbaric pearls and gold.

I have used the modern word *baggy*, to express the softness of the Roman garments, which entitled to some praise the people who might there, as they were thrown among the crowd.

CHAP.
LII

all embroidered with gold. The carpets on the floor were twenty-two thousand. An hundred lions were brought out, with a keeper to each lion.* Among the other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury, was a tree of gold and silver spreading into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a variety of birds made of the same precious metal, as well as the leaves of the tree. While the machinery affected spontaneous motions, the several birds warbled their natural harmony. Through this scene of magnificence, the Greek ambassador was led by the vizier to the foot of the caliph's throne.** In the West, the Omniades of Spain supported, with equal pomp, the title of commander of the faithful. Three miles from Cordova, in honour of his favourite sultana, the third and greatest of the Abdalrahmans constructed the city, palace, and gardens of Zehra. Twenty-five years, and above three millions sterling, were employed by the founder: his liberal taste invited the artists of Constantinople, the most skillful sculptors and architects of the age; and the buildings were sustained or adorned by twelve hundred columns of Spanish and African, of Greek and Italian marble. The hall of audience

* When Ball of Antarmory (Travels, vol. 1, p. 80) accompanied the English ambassador to the audience of the sultan, John Hudson of Patna, two lions were introduced, to denote the power of the king over the beausts of the field.

† Abulfeda, p. 271. d'Hervieux, p. 226. This embassy was received at England, v. n. 161, v. n. 311. In the passage of Abulfeda, I have used, with some variations, the English translation of the learned and amiable Mr. Harris of Salisbury (Philological Inquiry, p. 303, 304).

was encrusted with gold and pearls, and a great basin in the centre was surrounded with the en-
CHAP. 612
 rious and costly figures of birds and quadrupeds. In a lofty pavilion of the gardens, one of these basins and fountains, so delightful in a sultry climate, was replenished, not with water, but with the purest quicksilver. The seraglio of Abdalrahman, his wives, concubines, and black eunuchs, amounted to six thousand three hundred persons; and he was attended to the field by a guard of twelve thousand horse, whose belts and scynactars were studded with gold.*

In a private condition, our desires are perpetually repressed by poverty and subordination; but the lives and labours of millions are devoted to the service of a despotic prince, whose laws are blindly obeyed, and whose wishes are instantly gratified. Our imagination is dazzled by the splendid picture; and whatever may be the cool dictates of reason, there are few among us who would obstinately refuse a trial of the comforts and the cares of royalty. It may therefore be of some use to borrow the experience of the same Abdalrahman, whose magnificence has perhaps excited our admiration and envy, and to transcribe an authentic memorial which was found in the closet of the deceased caliph. "I have now reigned above fifty years in victory or peace: beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my ene-

* Casimire, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, tom. 4, p. 233-236. A just idea of the taste and architecture of the Arabian of Spain, may be conceived from the description and plans of the Alhambra at Granada (Schlaber's Travels, p. 171-176).

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LII

"mies, and respected by my allies. Riches and
 "honours, power and pleasure, have waited on
 "my call, nor does any earthly blessing appear
 "to have been wanting to my felicity. In this
 "situation I have diligently numbered the days
 "of pure and genuine happiness which have fallen
 "to my lot: they amount to *fourteen*:—O man!
 "place not thy confidence in this present world!"
 The luxury of the caliphs, so useless to their
 private happiness, relaxed the nerves, and ter-
 minated the progress of the Arabian empire.
 Temporal and spiritual conquest had been the
 sole occupation of the first successors of Mahomet;
 and after supplying themselves with the neces-
 saries of life, the whole revenue was scrupulously
 devoted to that salutary work. The Abbassides
 were impoverished by the multitude of their
 wants, and their contempt of economy. Instead
 of pursuing the great object of ambition, their
 leisure, their affections, the powers of their mind
 were diverted by pomp and pleasure; the rewards
 of valour were enervated by women and eunuchs,
 and the royal camp was encumbered by the luxury
 of the palace. A similar temper was diffused a-
 mong the subjects of the caliph. Their stern co-

* Chardin, *lett.* 4, p. 318, 323. This confession, the complaint
 of Simeon of the vanity of this world (*ceux* Prince's *raison* *est* *ce*
que *peu* *est* *le* *bon* *heur* *de* *ce* *mon* *siècle*"), will be extensively quoted by the historian of
 Spain, No. 224, 203, will be extensively quoted by the historian of
 Spain, No. 224, 203. Their expectations are continually disappointed: their ex-
 pectations are seldom fulfilled. If I may speak of myself (the only
 person of whom I can speak with certainty), my happy hours have
 far exceeded, and far exceed, the many numbers of the caliph of
 Spain; and I shall not scruple to add, that every one of them are due to
 the penning labour of the present composition.

enthusiasm was softened by time and prosperity: CHAP.
 they sought riches in the occupations of industry, LIL
 fame in the pursuits of literature, and happiness
 in the tranquillity of domestic life. War was no
 longer the passion of the Saracens; and the in-
 crease of pay, the repetition of donatives, were
 insufficient to allure the posterity of those volun-
 tary champions who had crowded to the stand-
 ard of Abulucker and Omar for the hopes of spoil
 and of paradise.

Under the reign of the Ommeiades, the studies of the Moslems were confined to the interpretation of the koran, and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue. A people continually exposed to the dangers of the field must esteem the healing powers of medicine, or rather of surgery: but the starving physicians of Arabia immured a complaint, that exercise and temperance deprived them of the greatest part of their practice.* After their civil and domestic wars, the subjects of the Abbassides, awakening from this mental lethargy, found leisure, and felt curiosity for the acquisition of profane science. This spirit was first encouraged by the caliph Almanzor, who, besides his knowledge of the musliman law, had applied himself with success to the study of astronomy. But when the sceptre devolved to Almansur, the seventh of the Abbassides, he completed the designs of his grandfather, and invited the

* The *Quintessence*, 1838, explains the controversies of Mahomet and a physician of Jewish descent, at Ferrara, in Italy, since born, in p. 8144. The quoted himself was killed in the act of smothering a child named Tyas in Malabar, both in, p. 444-444, but gives an extract of the symptoms which occurred under his care.

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LII

Muses from their ancient seats. His ambassadors at Constantinople, his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian science: at his command they were translated by the most skillful interpreters into the Arabic language: his subjects were exhorted assiduously to peruse these instructive writings; and the successor of Mahomet assisted with pleasure and modesty at the assemblies and disputations of the learned. "He was not ignorant," says Abulpharagius, "that they are the elect of God, his best and most useful servants, whose lives are devoted to the improvement of their rational faculties. The mean ambition of the Chinese or the Turks may glory in the industry of their hands, or the indulgence of their brutal appetites. Yet these dexterous artists must view, with hopeless emulation, the hexagons and pyramids of the cells of a beehive: these fortitudinous heroes are awed by the superior fierceness of the lions and tigers; and in their amorous enjoyments, they are much inferior to the vigour of the grossest and most sordid quadrupeds. The teachers of wisdom are the true humanities and legislators of a world, which, without their aid, would

* See their various architecture in Italy (Hist. des Sciences, tom. v. Memoire vii.). These buildings are closed by a pyramid; the slopes of the three sides of a similar pyramid, such as would surround the great and with the smallest possible quantity of materials, were determined by a mathematician, at 109 degrees 36 minutes for the larger, 70 degrees 34 minutes for the smaller. The actual measure is 108 degrees 38 minutes, 70 degrees 32 minutes. Yet this perfect harmony rules the work at the expense of the art: the men are not masters of transcendent geometry.

“again sink in ignorance and barbarism.” The zeal and curiosity of Almansur were imitated by succeeding princes of the line of Aghsar: their rivals, the Fatimites of Africa and the Omniades of Spain, were the patrons of the learned, as well as the commanders of the faithful: the same royal prerogative was claimed by their independent emirs of the provinces; and their emulation defied the taste and the rewards of science from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova. The vizier of a sultan consecrated a sum of two hundred thousand pieces of gold to the foundation of a college at Bagdad, which he endowed with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand dinars. The fruits of instruction were communicated, perhaps at different times, to six thousand disciples of every degree, from the son of the noble to that of the mechanic; a sufficient allowance was provided for the indigent scholars; and the merit *et* industry of the professors was repaid with adequate stipends. In every city the productions of Arabic literature were copied and collected by the curiosity of the studious, and the vanity of the rich. A private doctor refused the invitation of the sultan of Bochara, because the carriage of his books would have required four hundred camels. The royal library of the Fatimites consisted of one hundred thousand manuscripts, elegantly transcribed and

CHAR.
LII

* See Elie Almout, grandfather of Taki, who died A. M. 427, A. M. 1029, who furnished Almidharigius (Dynast. p. 160) with the various passages, as well as with the list of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. A number of history anecdotes of philosophers, physicians, &c. who have flourished under such rulers, form the principal part of the dynasty of Almidharigius.

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III.

splendidly bound, which were lent, without jealousy or avarice, to the students of Cairo. Yet this collection must appear moderate, if we can believe that the Omniades of Spain had formed a library of six hundred thousand volumes, forty-four of which were employed in the mere catalogue. Their capital, Cordova, with the adjacent towns of Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia, had given birth to more than three hundred writers, and above seventy public libraries were opened in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom. The age of Arabian learning continued about five hundred years, till the great irruption of the Moguls, and was coeval with the darkest and most slothful period of European annals; but since the sun of science has arisen in the West, it should seem that the oriental studies have languished and declined.²

There was
progress in
the Arab
science.

In the libraries of the Arabians, as in those of Europe, the far greater part of the innumerable volumes were possessed only of local value or imaginary merit.³ The shelves were crowded with orators and poets, whose style was adapted to the taste and manners of their countrymen; with general and partial histories, which each revolving

² These literary statistics are borrowed from the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispanica (tom. ii. p. 38, 41, 401, 402). See also among the Arabo-Medieval Philosophers, in Fabrici Bibliot. Græc. tom. xxi. p. 128-194, particularly p. 270, and Hummel (Hist. Littér. France, Arab. p. 172, 270, 284, 285), besides the chronological remarks. Accepting as

³ The Arabic catalogue of the Emperor will give a just idea of the principles of the library. In the library of Cairo, the use of astronomy and medicine descended to 1620, with the exception, the use of logic, the art of silver (Hummel, Arab. Hist. tom. i. p. 417).

generation supplied with a new harvest of persons and events; with codes and commentaries of jurisprudence, which derived their authority from the law of the prophet; with the interpreters of the koran, and orthodox tradition; and with the whole theological tribe, polemics, mystics, scholastics, and moralists, the first or the last of writers, according to the different estimate of sceptics or believers. The works of speculation or science may be reduced to the four classes of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and physic. The sages of Greece were translated and illustrated in the Arabic language, and some treatises, now lost in the original, have been recovered in the versions of the east;² which possessed and studied the writings of Aristotle and Plato, of Euclid and Apollonius, of Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen.³ Among the ideal systems, which have varied with the fashion of the times, the Arabians adopted the philosophy of the

¹ As for Immigrants, the 18th, 19th, and 20th land certificates are still writings of the Court Secretary of Agriculture Program, which were pulled from the Pioneer in 1961 (Pioneer Bulletin, vol. 10, p. 127). Yet the 18th land had been previously restored by the administrative disposition of Vassal law his slave in Fortitude, vol. 1, p. 10, 1861.

[illegible]

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III.

Stagirite, alike intelligible or alike obscure for the readers of every age. Plato wrote for the Athenians, and his allegorical genius is too closely blended with the language and religion of Greece. After the fall of that religion, the peripatetics, emerging from their obscurity, prevailed in the controversies of the oriental sects, and their founder was long afterwards restored by the mahometans of Spain to the Latin schools.* The physics, both of the academy and the lyceum, as they are built, not on observation, but on argument, have retarded the progress of real knowledge. The metaphysics of infinite, or finite, spirit, have too often been enlisted in the service of superstition. But the human faculties are fortified by the art and practice of dialectics; the ten predicaments of Aristotle collect and methodise our ideas,† and his syllogism is the keepest weapon of dispute. It was dexterously wielded in the schools of the Saracens, but as it is more effectual for the detection of error than for the investigation of truth, it is not surprising that new generations of masters and disciples should still revolve in the same circle of logical argument. The mathematics are distinguished by a peculiar privilege, that, in the course of ages, they may always advance, and can never recede. But the ancient geometry, if I am not misinformed, was resumed in the same state by the

* See *Systeme d'Études Hist. Ecclési.* p. 181, 211, 229, 237, 312, 326, 365, 429, &c.

† The most elegant commentary on the Categories or Predicaments of Aristotle may be found in the *Philosophical Arrangements* of Mr. James Harris (London, 1772, in twelve vols.) which I observed to contain the greatest of Greek literature and philosophy.

Italians of the fifteenth century; and whatever may be the origin of the name, the science of algebra is ascribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the earliest testimony of the Arabs themselves.* They cultivated with more success the sublime science of astronomy, which elevates the mind of man to disdain his diminutive planet and momentary existence. The costly instruments of observation were supplied by the caliph Almamun, and the land of the Chaldeans still afforded the same specious level, the same unclouded horizon. In the plains of Singar, and a second time in those of Cufa, his mathematicians accurately measured a degree of the great circle of the earth, and determined at twenty-four thousand miles the entire circumference of our globe.^b From the reign of the Abbassides to that of the grandchildren of Tamerlane, the stars, without the aid of glasses, were diligently observed; and the astronomical tables of Bagdad, Spain, and Samarcand,^c correct some minute errors, without daring

* *Abulpharagius*, *Dynast.* p. 41, 272. *Hidam*, *Arab. Hist.* tom. 4, p. 370, 371. To quæst says the printers of the *Annalæ* of *Immeret* or *Immer*, *Comment. Hist. de quæst. de quæst. de quæst.* The time of Diophantus of Alexandria is unknown, but his six books are still extant, and have been illustrated by the Great Ptolemy and the Frenchman *Meyer* (*Paris*, *Biblioth. Class.* tom. 10, p. 12-15).

^b *Abulfeda* (*Annal. Muslim.* p. 410, 411, *Arab. Hist.*) describes this operation exactly in the *Chronicon*, and the best historians. This degree was accurately measured 200,000 paces or Italian miles, which Arabs had received from the second and third patriarchs of Palestine and Egypt. This ancient mile is supposed 100 paces in each part of the great period, and serves to indicate the primitive and universal measure of the East. See the *Memoria* of the *Librarian* M. *Parisi*, p. 101-102.

^c See the *Astronomical Tables* of *Abulpharagius*, with the preface of Dr. Hyde, in the last volume of his *Epistola* *Historiarum*, *Genæ*, 1727.

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to renounce the hypothesis of Ptolemy, without advancing a step towards the discovery of the solar system. In the eastern courts, the truths of science could be recommended only by ignorance and folly, and the astronomer would have been disregarded, had he not debased his wisdom or honesty by the vain predictions of astrology.* But in the science of medicine, the Arabians have been deservedly applauded. The names of Mesna and Geber, of Razi and Avicenna, are ranked with the Grecian masters: in the city of Bagdad, eight hundred and sixty physicians were licensed to exercise their lucrative profession;† in Spain, the life of the catholic prince was entrusted to the skill of the Saracens,‡ and the school of Salerno, their legitimate offspring, revived in Italy and Europe the precepts of the healing art.§ The success of each professor must have been influenced by personal and accidental causes: but we may form a less fanciful estimate of their general know-

* The truth of astrology was gloried in by Astruc, and the loss of the Arabian astronomers, who drew their most certain predictions, not from Venus and Mercury, but from Jupiter and the Sun (*Abulpharag. Dynast.* p. 141-142). For the error and science of the Persian astronomers, see Charlin (*Voyages en Perse*, tom. II, p. 161-169).

† *Ibidem. Arabico-Hispan.* tom. I, p. 428. The original relates a personal tale, of an ignorant but fortunate practitioner.

‡ In the year 1146, towards the fall, King of Leon, was cured by the physicians of Cordova (*Medicee*, l. VIII, c. 7, tom. I, p. 718).

§ The school of Salerno, and the introduction of the Arabian art, came into Italy, we discovered with increasing and judgment by Moretus (*Autogenus Italiani Medici* &c., tom. III, p. 301-347) and Guarnieri (*Libera Cron. di Napoli*, tom. 2, p. 119-127).

ledge of anatomy,¹ botany,² and chemistry,³ the CHAP.
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threefold basis of their theory and practice. A
superstitious reverence for the dead confined both
the Greeks and the Arabians to the dissection of
apes and quadrupeds; the more solid and visible
parts were known in the time of Galen, and the
finer scrutiny of the human frame was reserved for
the microscope and the injections of modern
artists. Botany is an active science, and the dis-
coveries of the torrid zone might enrich the
herbals of Dioscorides with two thousand plants.
Some traditional knowledge might be secreted
in the temples and monasteries of Egypt; much
useful experience had been acquired in the practice
of arts and manufactures; but the science of
chemistry owes its origin and improvement to the
industry of the Saracens. They first invented and
named the alembic for the purposes of distillation,
analysed the substances of the three kingdoms of
nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alkalis
and acids, and converted the poisonous minerals

* See a good view of the progress of anatomy in William Robertson's *History of ancient and modern Learning*, p. 208-250. His reputation has been unfortunately depreciated by the war in the controversy of Boyle and Huxley.

¹ Rhazes, Arab. Hispano, tom. 1, p. 272. Al Rihzar of Malaga, a celebrated botanist, had travelled into Africa, Persia, and India.

² Dr. William (Elements of Chemistry, vol. 1, p. 17, &c.) traces the original merit of the Arabians. Yet he quotes the modern confession of the famous Gaster of the 12th century (Isidore, p. 387), that he had drawn most of his science, perhaps of the transmission of metals, from the ancient ages. Whatever might be the origin or extent of their knowledge, the arts of chemistry and alchemy appear to have been known in Egypt at least three hundred years before Mahomet (Weiden's *History*, p. 121-125. *Parw. Beschreibung der Egypten et des Chinas*, tom. 1, p. 276-427).

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into soft and salutary medicines. But the most eager search of Arabian chemistry was the transmutation of metals, and the elixir of immortal health: the reason and the fortunes of thousands were evaporated in the crucibles of alchymy, and the consummation of the great work was promoted by the worthy aid of mystery, fable, and superstition.

Want of
erudition,
taste, and
freedom.

But the Moslems deprived themselves of the principal benefits of a familiar intercourse with Greece and Rome, the knowledge of antiquity, the purity of taste, and the freedom of thought. Confident in the riches of their native tongue, the Arabians disclaimed the study of any foreign idiom. The Greek interpreters were chosen among their christian subjects; they formed their translations, sometimes on the original text, more frequently perhaps on a Syriac version; and in the crowd of astronomers and physicians, there is no example of a poet, an orator, or even an historian, being taught to speak the language of the Saracens.* The mythology of Homer would have provoked the abhorrence of those stern fanatics; they possessed in lazy ignorance the colonies of the Macedonians, and the provinces of Carthage and Rome: the heroes of Plutarch and Livy were buried in oblivion; and the history of the world before Mo-

* *Asiatick Researches* (Dymark, p. 29, 149) mentions a Syriac version of Homer's two poems, by Theophrastus, a christian monk of Mount Lebanon, who rendered accuracy of style or elegance towards the end of the sixth century. His work would be a happy curiosity. I have read somewhere, but I do not believe, that Plutarch's *Lives* were translated into Turkish by the use of Malabar the second.

homet was reduced to a short legend of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the Persian kings. Our education in the Greek and Latin schools may have fixed in our minds a standard of exclusive taste; and I am not forward to condemn the literature and judgments of nations, of whose language I am ignorant. Yet I know that the classics have much to teach, and I believe that the orientals have much to learn: the temperate dignity of style, the graceful proportions of art, the forms of visible and intellectual beauty, the just delineation of character and passion, the rhetoric of narrative and argument, the regular fabric of epic and dramatic poetry.* The influence of truth and reason is of a less ambiguous complexion. The philosophers of Athens and Rome enjoyed the blessings, and asserted the rights, of civil and religious freedom. Their moral and political writings might have gradually unlocked the fetters of eastern despotism, diffused a liberal spirit of enquiry and toleration, and encouraged the Arabian sages to suspect that their caliph was a tyrant and their prophet an impostor.† The instinct of superstition was alarmed by the introduction even of the abstract sciences; and the more rigid doctors of

* I have perused with much pleasure, Sir William Jones's *Latin Commentary on Asiatic Poetry* (London, 1774), in which, which was composed in the youth of that wonderful linguist. At present, in the maturity of his taste and judgment, he would perhaps smile at the fervour, and even partial, praise which he has bestowed on the *Odes*.

† Among the Arabian philosophers, Averroes has been accused of disavowing the religion of the Jews, the Christians, and the Mohammedans (see his articles in Bayle's *Dictionary*). Each of these sects would agree, that in one instance out of three, his contempt was regulated.

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the law condemned the rash and pernicious curiosity of Almanzon.* To the thirst of martyrdom, the vision of paradise, and the belief of predestination, we must ascribe the invincible enthusiasm of the prince and people. And the sword of the Saracens became less formidable, when their youth was drawn away from the camp to the college, when the armies of the faithful presumed to read and to reflect. Yet the foolish vanity of the Greeks was jealous of their studies, and reluctantly impured the sacred fire to the barbarians of the east.*

Wars of
Islam and
Rashed
against the
Hunns.
181-803.

In the bloody conflict of the Omniades and Abbassides, the Greeks had stolen the opportunity of avenging their wrongs, and enlarging their limits. But a severe retribution was exacted by Mohadi, the third caliph of the new dynasty, who seized in his turn the favourable opportunity, while a woman and a child, Irene and Constantine, were seated on the Byzantine throne. An army of ninety-five thousand Persians and Arabs was sent from the Tigris to the Thracian Bosphorus, under the command of Harun, or Aaron, the

* D. Herlihy, *Byzantine Chronology*, p. 316.

* This is a common story of the time, and is found in many other sources. See, for example, the *Life of the Emperor*, p. 118, who relates how probably the emperor refused a mathematician in the instance and others of the same nature. This absurd example is repeated almost in the same words by the *Antiquities of Theophrastus* (Script. Hist. Nat. Theophrastus, p. 118).

* See the origin and character of *Harmon's Hatched*, in the *Bibliothèque de la Revue*, p. 411-412, under his proper title; and in the various articles in which M. d'Hervilly critic. That learned author has shown much taste in scripping the excellent character of their instructive and amusing contents.

second son of the commander of the faithful. His encampment on the opposite heights of Chrysopolis or Scutari, informed Irene, in her palace of Constantinople, of the loss of her troops and provinces. With the consent or connivance of their sovereign, her ministers subscribed an ignominious peace; and the exchange of some royal gifts could not disguise the annual tribute of seventy thousand dinars of gold, which was imposed on the Roman empire. The Saracens had too rashly advanced into the midst of a distant and hostile land: their retreat was solicited by the promise of faithful guides and plentiful markets; and not a Greek had courage to whisper, that their weary forces might be surrounded and destroyed in their necessary passage between a slippery mountain and the river Sangarius. Five years after this expedition, Harun ascended the throne of his father and his elder brother; the most powerful and vigorous monarch of his race, illustrious in the West, as the ally of Charlemagne, and familiar to the most childish readers, as the perpetual hero of the Arabian tales. His title to the name of *Al Rashid* (the *Just*) is sullied by the extirpation of the generous, perhaps the innocent, Harneccides; yet he could listen to the complaint of a poor widow who had been pillaged by his troops, and who dared, in a passage of the karnaz, to threaten the inattentive despot with the judgment of God and posterity. His court was adorned with luxury and science; but in a reign of three and twenty years, Harun repeatedly visited his provinces from

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Chorasan to Egypt; nine times he performed the pilgrimage of Mecca; eight times he invaded the territories of the Romans; and as often as they declined the payment of the tribute, they were taught to feel that a month of depredation was more costly than a year of submission. But when the unnatural mother of Constantine was deposed and banished; her successor Nicephorus resolved to obliterate this badge of servitude and disgrace. The epistle of the emperor to the caliph was pointed with an allusion to the game of chess, which had already spread from Persia to Greece. "The queen (he spoke of Irene) considered you as a rook and herself as a pawn. That pusillanimous female submitted to pay a tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from the barbarians. Restore therefore the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword." At these words the ambassadors cast a bundle of swords before the foot of the throne. The caliph smiled at the menace, and drawing his scymetar, *seim-sah*, a weapon of historic or fabulous renown, he cut asunder the feeble arms of the Greeks, without turning the edge, or endangering the temper, of his blade. He then dictated an epistle of tremendous brevity: "In the name of the most merciful God, Harun al Rashid, commander of the faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply." It was written in characters of blood

and fire on the plains of Phrygia; and the warlike celerity of the Arabs could only be checked by the arts of deceit and the shew of repentance. The triumphant caliph retired, after the fatigues of the campaign, to his favourite palace of Basra on the Euphrates:² but the distance of five hundred miles, and the inclemency of the season, encouraged his adversary to violate the peace. Nicephorus was astonished by the bold and rapid march of the commander of the faithful, who rapessed, in the depth of winter, the snows of mount Taurus: his stratagems of policy and war were exhausted; and the perfidious Greek escaped with three wounds from a field of battle overspread with forty thousand of his subjects. Yet the emperor was ashamed of submission, and the caliph was resolved on victory. One hundred and thirty-five thousand regular soldiers received pay, and were inscribed in the military roll: and above three hundred thousand persons of every denomination marched under the black standard of the Abbassides. They swept the surface of Asia Minor far beyond Tynn and An-cyra, and invested the Pontic Heraclea,³ once a flourishing state, now a paltry town; at that time

² For the situation of Basra, the old Nisibartum, south of Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 44-45). The Arabian Nighar, surnamed Harun al Rashid, is almost stationary in Egypt. He reported the rapid west of the Abbassides; but the crew of the inhabitants had driven him from the city (Abulfeda, *Annal.* p. 187).

³ M. D. Taurinensis, in his travelling voyage from Constantinople to Tachiboul, passed a night at Heraclea (Herakleia). His eye corrected the present state, his sailing collected his description, of the city (*Voyage du Levant*, tom. III, lettre xvi, p. 12-23). We have a separate history of Heraclea in the fragments of Meander, which are preserved by Ptolemy.

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capable of sustaining in her antique walls a month's siege against the forces of the East. The ruin was complete, the spoil was ample; but if Harun had been conversant with Grecian story, he would have regretted the statue of Hercules, whose attributes, the club, the bow, the quiver, and the lion's hide, were sculptured in massy gold. The progress of desolation by sea and land, from the Euxine to the isle of Cyprus, compelled the emperor Nicephorus to retract his haughty defiance. In the new treaty the ruins of Heraclea were left for ever as a lesson and a trophy; and the coin of the tribute was marked with the image and superscription of Harun and his three sons.¹ Yet this plurality of lords might contribute to remove the dishonour of the Roman name. After the death of their father, the heirs of the caliph were involved in civil discord, and the conqueror, the liberal Almamoon, was sufficiently engaged in the restoration of domestic peace and the introduction of foreign science.

The Arabs
whence the
title of
Frisians.
a. d. 321.

Under the reign of Almamoon at Bagdad, of Michael the Stammerer at Constantinople, the islands of Crete^a and Sicily were subdued by the

^a The wars of Harun al-Basid against the Roman empire, are related by Theophanes (p. 384, 385, 391, 396, 407, 408), Zonaras (tom. II, l. 17, p. 113, 154), Cedrenus (p. 477, 478), Eurythius (Annals tom. II, p. 107), Kinnasin (Hist. Sacra, p. 136, 151, 152), Abulpharagius (Dyast. p. 147, 151), and Abulfeda (p. 196, 199-189).

^b The authors from whom I have leaped the names of the ancient and modern states of Crete, are Belon (Observations, An. c. 3-20, Paris, 1538), Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. I, lettre II, et lili), and Méneclius of Gaza, in his works, tom. III, p. 343-344. Although

Arabs. The former of these conquests is dis-
dained by their own writers, who were ignorant
of the name of Jupiter and Minos, but it has not
been overlooked by the Byzantine historians, who
now begin to cast a clearer light on the affairs
of their own times.¹ A band of Andalusian vo-
lunteers, discontented with the climate or go-
vernment of Spain, explored the adventures of
the sea; but as they sailed in no more than ten
or twenty galleys, their warfare must be branded
with the name of piracy. As the subjects and
sectaries of the *white* party, they might lawfully
invade the dominions of the *black* caliph. A
rebellious faction introduced them into Alex-
andria;² they cut in pieces both friends and
foes, pillaged the churches and the moschs, sold
above six thousand christian captives, and main-
tained their station in the capital of Egypt, till
they were oppressed by the forces and the pre-
sence of Almanon himself. From the mouth of

Crete is styled by Homer *Thaps*, by *Strabo* *Thapsos* or *Thapsos*, I cannot conceive that mountainous island to signify, or serve as a type, to signify the present part of Spain.

The most authentic and circumstantial intelligence is obtained from the four books of the Continuation of Theophanes, compiled by the son of the eunuch of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with the life of his father Basil the Macedonian (scriptura post Theophanem, p. 1-122, à Francis Costerus, Paris, 1845). The loss of Sicily and Sardinia is related, l. ii, p. 18-22. To these we may add the secondary evidence of Joseph Genesius ō, ii, p. 21. Voss. 1722; George Costerus (Compend. p. 508-509), and John Seydoux Compend. apud Baron. Annal. Eccles. s. p. 827, No. 21, &c.) But the modern Greeks are such voracious plagiarists, that I should only quote a plurality of names.

² *Almanon* (*Alman*, *Parvach*, *Alman*, p. 231-234, 236-237), was described the range of the Andalusian Arabs in Egypt, but has long since separated them with the conquest of Crete.

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the Nile to the Hellespont, the islands and seacoasts both of the Greeks and Moderns were exposed to their depredations; they saw, they carried, they tasted, the fertility of Crete, and soon returned with forty galleys to a more serious attack. The Andalusians wandered over the land fearless and unmolested; but when they descended with their plunder to the sea-shore, their vessels were in flames, and their chief, Abu Canb, confessed himself the author of the mischief. Their clamours accused his madness or treachery: "Of what do you complain?" replied the crusty emir. "I have brought you to a land flowing with milk and honey. Here is your true country; repose from your toils, and forget the barren place of your nativity." "And our wives and children?" "Your beautiful captives will supply the place of your wives, and in their embraces you will soon become the fathers of a new progeny." The first habitation was their camp, with a ditch and rampart, in the bay of Suda; but an apostate monk led them to a more desirable position in the eastern parts; and the name of Candax, their fortress and colony, has been extended to the whole island, under the corrupt and modern appellation of *Candia*. The hundred cities of the age of Minos were diminished to thirty; and of these, only one, most probably Cydonia, had courage to retain the substance of freedom and the profession of christianity. The Saracens of Crete soon required the loss of their navy; and the timbers of mount Ida were launched

into the main. During an hostile period of one CHAP.
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hundred and thirty-eight years, the princes of
Constantinople attacked these licentious corsairs
with fruitless curses and ineffectual arms.

The loss of Sicily* was occasioned by an act loss of Si-
cily, see p.
677-678.
of superstitious rigour. An amorous youth, who
had stolen a nun from her cloister, was sentenced
by the emperor to the amputation of his tongue.
Euphemius appealed to the reason and policy of
the Saracens of Africa; and soon returned with
the imperial purple, a fleet of one hundred ships,
and an army of seven hundred horse and ten
thousand foot. They landed at Mazara near the
ruins of the ancient Selinus; but after some partial
victories, Syracuse† was delivered by the Greeks,
the apostate was slain before her walls, and his
African friends were reduced to the necessity of
feeding on the flesh of their own horses. In their
turn they were relieved by a powerful reinforce-
ment of their brethren of Antiochia; the largest
and western part of the island was gradually re-
duced, and the commodious harbour of Palermo
was chosen for the seat of the naval and military
power of the Saracens. Syracuse preserved about

* *Letius says the constitution of Theophanes, l. ii. p. 22, is more extensive and authentic than I ever professed myself to use as a guide in this case.* This history of the loss of Sicily is no longer exact. Morosini (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. vii. p. 7, 18, 21, &c.) has added some circum-
stances from the Italian chronicles.

* The splendid and interesting tragedy of *Tamora* would adapt the
subject better to this spot, than to the date (A. D. 1003), which
Voltaire himself has chosen. Had I more gently reproach the poet,
for infusing into the Greek subjects the spirit of modern heroism and
warrior republicanism.

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fifty years the faith which she had sworn to Christ and to Cæsar. In the last and fatal siege, her citizens displayed some remnant of the spirit which had formerly resisted the powers of Athens and Carthage. They stood above twenty days against the battering-rams and *catapultæ*, the mines and tortoise of the besiegers; and the place might have been relieved, if the mariners of the imperial fleet had not been detained at Constantinople in building a church to the Virgin Mary. The deacon Theodosius, with the bishop and clergy, was dragged in chains from the altar to Palermo, cast into a subterraneous dungeon, and exposed to the hourly peril of death or apostacy. His pathetic, and not inelegant complaint, may be read as the epitaph of his country.* From the Roman conquest to this final calamity, Syracuse, now dwindled to the primitive isle of Ortygia, had insensibly declined. Yet the relics were still precious; the plate of the cathedral weighed five thousand pounds of silver; the entire spoil was computed at one million of pieces of gold (about four hundred thousand pounds sterling), and the captives must outnumber the seventeen thousand christians who were transported from the sack of Tauromenium into African servitude. In Sicily, the religion and language of the Greeks were eradicated; and such was the docility of the rising generation, that fifteen thousand boys were

* The narrative or lamentation of Theodosius is transcribed and illustrated by Pagi (Critica, tom. vi. p. 719, A2.) Constantine Porphyrogenitus (on Vit. Basil. c. 69, 70, p. 190-191,) mentions the loss of Syracuse and the triumph of the Saracens.

circumcised and clothed on the same day with the son of the Fatimite caliph. The Arabian squadrons issued from the harbours of Palermo, Riserta, and Tunis; an hundred and fifty towns of Calabria and Campania were attacked and pillaged; nor could the suburbs of Rome be defended by the name of the Cæsars and apostles. Had the mahometans been united, Italy must have fallen an easy and glorious accession to the empire of the prophet. But the caliphs of Bagdad had lost their authority in the West; the Aglabites and Fatimites usurped the provinces of Africa; their emirs of Sicily aspired to independence; and the design of conquest and dominion was degraded to a repetition of predatory incursions.*

In the sufferings of prostrate Italy, the name of Rome awakens a solemn and mournful recollection. A fleet of Saracens from the African coast presumed to enter the mouth of the Tyber, and to approach a city which even yet, in her fallen state, was revered as the metropolis of the christian world. The gates and ramparts were guarded by a trembling people; but the tombs and temples of St. Peter and St. Paul were left exposed in the suburbs of the Vatican and of the Ostian way; Their inviolable sanctity had protected them against the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards;

*Invasion of
Rome by
the Saracens,
A. D. 842.*

* The extracts from the Arabic histories of Sicily are given in Abulfeda (*Annal. Muslim.* p. 371-375), and in the first volume of Montfaucon's *Scriptores Beroici Italici*. M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns* tom. i. p. 623, 624), has added some important facts.

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but the Arabs disdained both the gospel and the legend; and their rapacious spirit was approved and animated by the precepts of the koran. The christian idols were stripped of their costly offerings; a silver altar was torn away from the shrine of St. Peter; and if the bodies or the buildings were left entire, their deliverance must be imputed to the haste, rather than the scruples, of the Saracens. In their course along the Appian way, they pillaged Eundi and besieged Gayeta; but they had turned aside from the walls of Rome, and, by their divisions, the Capitol was saved from the yoke of the prophet of Mecca. The same danger still impended on the heads of the Roman people; and their domestic force was unequal to the assault of an African emir. They claimed the protection of their Latin sovereign; but the Carovingian standard was overthrown by a detachment of the barbarians; they meditated the restoration of the Greek emperors; but the attempt was treasonable, and the succour remote and precarious.¹ Their distress appeared to receive some aggravation from the death of their spiritual and temporal chief: but the pressing emergency superseded the forms and intrigues of an election; and the unanimous choice of popa

¹ One of the most authentic Roman historians, an intimate confidant of Roman palatine secrets, was accused of seducing, *Quasi Franci militem hunc fecerint, neque imperium proprium, sed imperia quæ nostris sunt imperia darentur.* Quæst. ant. aduersus Germanos, et contra eos facientes pæne cruciatus, Franci in regem et gentem de nostris regibus et ditionibus regerentur. *Annals de Louis IV.* p. 124.

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Leo the fourth* was the safety of the church and city. This pontiff was born a Roman; the courage of the first ages of the republic glowed in his breast; and, amidst the ruins of his country, he stood erect, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman forum. The first days of his reign were consecrated to the purification and removal of relics to prayers and processions, and to all the solemn offices of religion, which served at least to heal the imagination, and restore the hopes, of the multitude. The public defence had been long neglected, not from the presumption of peace, but from the distress and poverty of the times. As far as the scantiness of his means and the shortness of his leisure would allow, the ancient walls were repaired by the command of Leo: fifteen towers, in the most accessible stations, were built or renewed; two of these commanded on either side the Tyber; and an iron chain was drawn across the stream to impede the ascent of an hostile navy. The Romans were assured of a short respite by the welcome news, that the siege of Gayeta had been raised, and that a part of the enemy, with their sacrilegious plunder, had perished in the waves.

But the storm which had been delayed, soon burst upon them with redoubled violence. The

Vigore
and vigour
Leo IV.
A. D. 848.

* Valtaire (*Hist. Générale*, tom. II. c. 28. p. 134), appears to be remarkably struck with the character of Pope Leo IV. I have borrowed his general expression, but the sight of the Roman his fortress so one with a more distinct and lively image.

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Aglabite,¹ who reigned in Africa, had inherited from his father a treasure and an army: a fleet of Arabs and Moors, after a short refreshment in the harbours of Sardinia, cast anchor before the mouth of the Tyber, sixteen miles from the city; and their discipline and numbers appeared to threaten, not a transient inroad, but a serious design of conquest and dominion. But the vigilance of Leo had formed an alliance with the vassals of the Greek empire, the free and maritime states of Geyra, Naples, and Amalfi; and in the hour of danger, their gallies appeared in the port of Ostia, under the command of Cæsarius, the son of the Neapolitan duke, a noble and valiant youth, who had already vanquished the fleets of the Saracens. With his principal companions, Cæsarius was invited to the Lateran palace, and the dexterous pontiff affected to inquire their errand, and to accept with joy and surprise their providential succour. The city bands, in arms, attended their father to Ostia, where he reviewed and blessed his generous deliverers. They kissed his feet, received the communion with martial devotion, and listened to the prayer of Leo, that the same God who had supported St. Peter and St. Paul on the waves of the sea, would strengthen the hands of his champions against the adversaries of his holy name. After a similar prayer, and with equal resolution,

¹ De Géligne, *Hist. Générale des Héros*, tom. 1, p. 383, 384. Cardanus, *Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, sous la Domination des Arabes, tom. II, p. 24, 25. I observe, and cannot remove, the difference of these writers in the narration of the Aglabites.

the Moabites advanced to the attack of the christian gallies, which preserved their advantageous station along the coast. The victory inclined to the side of the allies, when it was less gloriously decided in their favour by a sudden tempest, which confounded the skill and courage of the stoutest mariners. The christians were sheltered in a friendly harbour, while the Africans were scattered and dashed in pieces among the rocks and islands of an hostile shore. Those who escaped from shipwreck and hunger, neither found nor deserved mercy at the hands of their implacable pursuers. The sword and the gibbet reduced the dangerous multitude of captives; and the remainder was more usefully employed, to restore the sacred edifices which they had attempted to subvert. The pontiff, at the head of the citizens and allies, paid his grateful devotion at the shrines of the apostles; and among the spoils of this naval victory, thirteen Arabian bows of pure and mazy silver were suspended round the altars of the fishermen of Galilee. The reign of Leo the fourth was employed in the defence and ornament of the Roman state. The churches were renewed and embellished; near four thousand pounds of silver were consecrated to repair the houses of St. Peter; and his sanctuary was decorated with a plate of gold the weight of two hundred and sixteen pounds, embossed with the portraits of the pope and emperor, and encircled with a string of pearls. Yet this calm magnificence reflects less glory on the character of Leo, than the paternal care with which he rebuilt the walls of Horta and America; and transported the wan-

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dering inhabitants of Costantimella to his new foundation of Lepolla, twelve miles from the sea-shore.* By his liberality a colony of Corsicans, with their wives and children, was planted in the station of Porto at the mouth of the Tiber: the sailing city was restored for their use, the fields and vineyards were divided among the new settlers; their first efforts were assisted by a gift of horses and cattle; and the hardy exiles, who breathed revenge against the Saracens, swore to live and die under the standard of St. Peter. The nations of the West and North who visited the threshold of the apostles, had gradually formed the large and populous suburb of the Vatican, and their various habitations were distinguished, in the language of the times, as the *seminis* of the Greeks and Goths, of the Lombards and Saxons. But this venerable spot was still open to sacrilegious insult: the design of inclosing it with walls and towers exhausted all that authority could command, or charity would supply; and the pious labour of four years was animated in every season, and at every hour, by the presence of the indefatigable pontiff. The love of fame, a generous but worldly passion, may be detected in the name of the *Eternis* city, which he bestowed on the Vatican; yet the pride of the dedication was tempered with christian penance and humility. The itinerary was trod by the bishop and his clergy, barefoot, in sackcloth and ashes; the songs of triumph were modulated to psalms and litanies; the walls were besprinkled with holy

Founda-
tion of the
Eternis
city, A. D.
642.

* Beccell (*Chronographia* Italiae Siciliæ, &c. p. 106, 108), joins it to the *seminis* Costantimella, Lepolla, Civitas Leonina, and the other places of the Roman Church.

water; and the ceremony was concluded with a prayer, that under the guardian care of the apostles and the angelic host, both the old and the new Rome might ever be preserved pure, prosperous, and impregnable.*

The emperor Theophilus, son of Michael the Stammerer, was one of the most active and high-spirited princes who reigned at Constantinople during the middle age. In offensive or defensive war, he marched in person five times against the Saracens, formidable in his attack, esteemed by the enemy in his losses and defeats. In the last of these expeditions he penetrated into Syria, and besieged the obscure town of Sarcopetra, the usual birth-place of the caliph Motasem, whose father Harun was attended in peace or war by the most favourite of his wives and concubines. The revolt of a Persian impostor employed at that moment the arms of the Saracen, and he could only intercede in favour of a place for which he felt and acknowledged some degree of filial affection. These solicitations determined the emperor to wound his pride in so sensible a part. Sarcopetra was levelled with the ground, the Syrian prisoners were marked or mutilated with ignominious cruelty, and a thousand female captives were forced away from the adjacent territory. Among

* The Arabs and the Greeks are still great enemies; the invasion of Boin by the Arabs. The *facta* resembles the fact offered in the *Annals* of Beroia, and Page. One authentic and contemporary guide for the paper of the 9th century is *Amalricus*, Bishop of the Roman Church. His *Life of Leo IV.* contains (twelve) first page 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, and 177 a great part of which is superfluous, and we must leave it to the future, who will be much older to a church than to a king.

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these a matron of the house of Abbass invoked, in an agony of despair, the name of Motassem; and the insults of the Greeks engaged the honour of her kinsman to avenge his indignity, and to answer her appeal. Under the reign of the two elder brothers, the inheritance of the youngest had been confined to Anatolia, Armenia, Georgia, and Circassia: this frontier station had exercised his military talents; and among his accidental claims to the name of *Ghazny*,^a the most meritorious are the eight battles which he gained or fought against the enemies of the korn. In this personal quarrel, the troops of Irak, Syria, and Egypt, were recruited from the tribes of Arabia, and the Turkish horde; his cavalry might be numerous, though we should deduct some myriads from the hundred and thirty thousand horses of the royal stables; and the expence of the armament was computed at four millions sterling, or one hundred thousand pounds of gold. From Tarsus, the place of assembly, the Saracens advanced in three divisions along the high road of Constantinople; Motassem himself commanded the centre, and the vanguard was given to his son Albas, who, in the trial of the first adventures, might succeed with the more glory, or fail with the least reproach. In the revenge of his injury, the caliph prepared to retaliate a similar affront. The father of Theophilus was a native of Amorium^b in Phrygia:

^a The same number was applied in the following circumstances to the life of Motassem: he was the eighth of the Abbassides; he reigned eight years, eight months, and eight days; he left eight sons, eight daughters, eight hundred slaves, eight millions of gold.

^b Amorium is likewise mentioned by the old geographers, and is usually supposed to be the Ruana Anurama. After the 6th century, it

the original seat of the imperial house had been adorned with privileges and monuments: and whatever might be the indifference of the people, Constantinople itself was scarcely of more value in the eyes of the sovereign and his court. The name of *Amorium* was inscribed on the shield of the Saracens; and their three armies were again united under the walls of the devoted city. It had been proposed by the wisest counsellors, to evacuate *Amorium*, to remove the inhabitants, and to abandon the empty structures to the vain resentment of the barbarians. The emperor embraced the more generous resolution of defending, in a siege and battle, the country of his ancestors. When the armies drew near, the front of the mahometan line appeared to a Roman eye more closely planted with spears and javelins; but the event of the action was not glorious on either side to the national troops. The Arabs were broken, but it was by the swords of thirty thousand Persians, who had obtained service and settlement in the Byzantine empire. The Greeks were repulsed and vanquished, but it was by the arrows of the Turkish cavalry; and had not their bow-strings been damped and relaxed by the evening rain, very few of the christians could have escaped with the emperor from the field of battle. They breathed at Dorylaeum, at the distance of three days; and Theophilus, reviewing his trembling squadrons, forgave the common

became an episcopal see, and at length the metropolis of the new Georgia. See, *Paul's Geography*, *Acra*, p. 234. The city rose again from the ruins, if we should read *Amoria*, not *Amorik*, in the text of the *Mahom* geographers (p. 235).

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fight both of the prince and people. After this discovery of his weakness, he vainly hoped to deprecate the fate of Amorium: the inexorable republic rejected with contempt his prayers and promises; and detained the Roman ambassadors to be the witnesses of his great revenge. They had nearly been the witnesses of his shame: The vigorous assaults of fifty-five days were encountered by a faithful governor, a veteran garrison, and a desperate people; and the Saracens must have raised the siege if a domestic traitor had not pointed to the weakest part of the wall, a place which was decorated with the statues of a lion and a bull. The vow of Matamora was accomplished with unrelenting rigour: fired, rather than enticed, with destruction, he returned to his new palace of Samarra, in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, while the *unfortunate** Theophilus implored the tardy and doubtful aid of his Western rival the emperor of the Franks. Yet in the siege of Amorium above seventy thousand Moslems had perished: their loss had been revenged by the slaughter of thirty thousand christians, and the sufferings of an equal number of captives, who were treated as the most atrocious criminals. Mutual necessity could sometimes extort the exchange or ransom of prisoners;† but in the national and religious conflict of

* In the East he was styled *ἀντιπατριάρχης* (Antipatriarch Theophan. l. iii. p. 541) but such was the ignorance of the West, that his antipatriarch, his public denunciation, and his holy enemies, as described by an adverse eastern historian, passed without being understood. (Another, Barlaam, novel Page, lxxxvii. p. 720).

† Antipatriarch (Orosius. p. 181. 187, relates one of these singular transactions on the verge of the river Euphrates in Chaldaea, the Bank of the last empire, and one day's journey westward of Taurus (cf. Anville, *Geographie*

the two empires, peace was without confidence, and war without mercy. Quarter was seldom given in the field; those who escaped the edge of the sword, were condemned to hopeless servitude, or exquisite torture; and a catholic emperor relates, with visible satisfaction, the execution of the Saracens of Crete, who were flayed alive, or plunged into caldrons of boiling oil. To a point of honour Motasem had sacrificed a flourishing city, two hundred thousand lives, and the property of millions. The same caliph descended from his horse, and distrid his robe to relieve the distress of a decrepid old man, who, with his burden ass, had tumbled into a ditch. On which of these actions did he reflect with the most pleasure, when he was summoned by the angel of death?

With Motassem, the eighth of the Abbassides, ^{the} ~~the~~ glory of his family and nation expired. When ^{the} ~~the~~ Arabian conquerors had spread themselves ^{at the} ~~the~~ over the East, and were mingled with the servile

Geographic Names, tons 14, 1, 114. Four thousand two hundred and sixty thousand, eight hundred women and children, one hundred childrenless, were exchanged for an equal number of Greeks. They passed each other in the middle of the bridge, not when they reached each respective shore, they obtained their share, and few were taken. Many of the prisoners of Anaximenes were probably among them, but in the same year (i. e. in 1912), the great destruction of Armenians, the Assyrian emigration, were inflicted by the same authorities.

²⁴ *Conocarpus fragrans*, in Y. S. Gentry, ed., p. 148. These specimens were labeled named with peculiar brevity as *parviflora* and *remota*.

[illegible]

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III.

crowds of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, they insensibly lost the freedom and martial virtues of the desert. The courage of the South is the artificial fruit of discipline and prejudice; the active power of enthusiasm had decayed, and the mercenary forces of the caliph were recruited in those climates of the north, of which valour is the hardy and spontaneous production. Of the 'Turks,' who dwelt beyond the Oxus and Jaxartes, the robust youths, either taken in war, or purchased in trade, were educated in the exercises of the field, and the profession of the mahometan faith. The Turkish guards stood in arms round the throne of their benefactor, and their chiefs usurped the dominion of the palace and the provinces. Motasem, the first author of this dangerous example, introduced into the capital above fifty thousand Turks: their licentious conduct provoked the public indignation, and the quarrels of the soldiers and people induced the caliph to retire from Bagdad, and establish his own residence and the camp of his barbarian favourites at Samarra on the Tigris, about twelve leagues above the city of Pease.* His son Motawakkel was a jealous and cruel tyrant: odious to his subjects, he cut him-

* M. de Houtman, who sometimes says, and sometimes concludes, to the gulph between Chinese and mahometan story, thinks he has seen that these Turks are the *Barbarians*, who the *Emperors*, at Bagdad, agree to that they were divided into three kinds, from China, and Persia to the dominions of the caliph and Samarra. *Asie*, (Paris, de Houtman, 1700, 21, p. 122, 123-124).

* He changed the old name of Samarra, or Samarra, into the new title of *Samarra*, and, that whole given place, to the right of the city, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, in 1700, d'Arville, d'Arville, et de Tigris, p. 91, 92.

self on the fidelity of the strangers, and these strangers, ambitious and apprehensive, were engaged by the rich promise of a revolution. At the instigation, or at least in the name of his son, they burst into his apartment at the hour of supper, and the caliph was cut into seven pieces by the same swords which he had recently distributed among the guards of his life and throne. To this throne, yet streaming with a father's blood, Muntafer was triumphantly led; but in a reign of six months, he found only the pangs of a guilty conscience. If he wept at the sight of an old tapestry which represented the crime and punishment of the sons of Cleotoca; if his days were abridged by grief and remorse, we may allow some pity to a parricide, who exclaimed in the bitterness of death, that he had lost both this world, and the world to come. After this act of treason, the ensigns of royalty, the garment and walking staff of Mahomet, were given and torn away by the foreign mercenaries, who in four years created, deposed, and murdered three commanders of the faithful. As often as the Turks were inflamed by fear, or rage, or avarice, these caliphs were dragged by the feet, exposed naked to the scorching sun, beaten with iron clubs, and compelled to purchase, by the abdication of their dignity, a short reprieve of inevitable fate.* At length, however, the fury of

* Take a specimen, the death of the caliph Muntafer. *Conspicuum postulat pectus, et mille passis perambulavit, et spoliatus laqueo tendit in aethi coelestem, per corpus, scurrunt oculi postea alacris circumstantibus. Adhuc tumulus alijque aditu regium circumstantibus, quoniam illi alijque munda avaritia ardent, &c. &c.* *ibid.*

CHAP. the tempest was spent or diverted: the Abbas-
 LIII. sides returned to the less turbulent residence of
 Bagdad; the violence of the Turks was curbed
 with a firmer and more skillful hand, and their
 numbers were divided and destroyed in foreign
 warfare. But the nations of the East had been
 taught to trample on the necessities of the prophet;
 and the blessings of domestic peace were obtained
 by the relaxation of strength and discipline. So
 uniform are the mischiefs of military despotism,
 that I seem to repeat the story of the prætorians
 of Rome.*

First and
 Progress of
 the Chinese
 Empire,
 v. 2.
 1791, 1831.

While the flame of enthusiasm was damped by
 the business, the pleasure, and the knowledge, of
 the age, it burnt with concentrated heat in the
 bosoms of the chosen few, the congenial spirits,
 who were ambitious of reigning either in this
 world or in the next. How carefully never the
 book of prophecy had been sealed by the apostle
 of Mecca, the wishes, and (if we may profane the
 word) even the reason, of fanaticism, might
 believe that, after the successive missions of Adam,
 Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet,
 the same God, in the fulness of time, would re-
 veal a still more perfect and permanent law. In
 the two hundred and seventy-seventh year of the
 Hegira, and in the neighbourhood of Cufa, an

First and Progress of the Chinese Empire, v. 2. 1791, 1831.
 * See under the reign of Maximian, Maximilian, Maximus, Ma-
 ximin, Maxim, Maximilian, and Maximus, in the *Encyclopædie de l'His-
 toire*, and the new familiar *Annals of Emperors, Apostles, and
 Prophets*.

Arabian preacher, of the name of Carmath, CHAP. III. assumed the lofty and incomprehensible style of the guide, the director, the demonstration, the word, the holy ghost, the camel, the herald of the messiah, who had conversed with him in a human shape, and the representative of Muhammed the son of Ali, of St. John the baptist, and of the angel Gabriel. In his mystic volume, the precepts of the koran were refined to a more spiritual sense; he relaxed the duties of abstinence, fasting, and pilgrimage; allowed the indiscriminate use of wine and forbidden fruit; and nourished the fervour of his disciples by the daily repetition of fifty prayers. The effluence and ferment of the rustic crowd awakened the attention of the magistrates of Cufa: a timid persecution assisted the progress of the new sect; and the name of the prophet became more revered after his person had been withdrawn from the world. His twelve apostles dispersed themselves among the Bedouens, "a race of men," says Abulfeda, "equally devoid of reason and of religion;" and the success of their preaching seemed to threaten Arabia with a new revolution. The Carmathians were ripe for rebellion, since they disclaimed the title of the house of Abbas, and abhorred the worldly pomp of the caliphs of Bagdad. They were susceptible of discipline, since they vowed a blind and absolute submission to their imam, who was called to the prophetic office by the voice of God and the people. Instead of the legal tithes, he claimed the fifth of their substance and spoil: the most flagitious sins were no more than the type

CHAP.
LII.

There will
very im-
possibly
be a
900

of disobedience; and the brethren were united and concealed by an oath of secrecy. After a bloody conflict, they prevailed in the province of Bahrein, along the Persian Gulf: far and wide, the tribes of the desert were subject to the sceptre, or rather to the sword, of Abu Saïd and his son Abu Taher; and these rebellious ignomies could muster in the field no hundred and seven thousand families. The mercenaries of the caliph were disunited at the approach of an enemy who neither asked nor accepted quarter; and the difference between them, in fortitude and patience, is expressive of the change which three centuries of prosperity had effected in the character of the Arabians. Such troops were discomfited in every action; the cities of Racca and Bascher, of Cufa, and Basora, were taken and pillaged; Bagdad was filled with consternation; and the caliph trembled behind the veils of his palace. In a daring inroad beyond the Tigris, Abu Taher advanced to the gates of the capital with no more than five hundred horse. By the special order of Mectader, the bridges had been broken down, and the person or head of the rebel was expected every hour by the commander of the faithful. His lieutenant, from a motive of fear or pity, apprised Abu Taher of his danger; and recommended a speedy escape. "Your master," said the intrepid Carmathian to the messenger, "sent the head of thirty thousand soldiers: three such men as these are wanting in his host:" at the same instant, turning to three of his companions, he commanded the first to plunge a dagger into

his breast, the second to leap into the Tigris, and the third to cast himself headlong down a precipice. They obeyed without a murmur. "Relate," continued the Imam, "what you have seen: before the evening your general shall be chained among my dogs." Before the evening, the camp was surprised and the menace was executed. The rapine of the Carmathians was sanctified by their aversion to the worship of Mecca: they robbed a caravan of pilgrims, and twenty thousand devout Moslems were abandoned on the burning sands to a death of hunger and thirst. Another year they suffered the pilgrims to proceed without interruption; but, in the festival of devotion, Abu Taker stormed the holy city, and trampled on the most venerable relics of the unshaken faith. Thirty thousand citizens and strangers were put to the sword; the sacred precincts were polluted by the burial of three thousand dead bodies; the well of Zamzem overflowed with blood; the golden spout was forced from its place; the veil of the Kaaba was divided among these impious sectaries; and the black stone, the first monument of the nation, was borne away in triumph to their capital. After this deed of sacrilege and cruelty, they continued to infest the confines of Irak, Syria, and Egypt; but the vital principle of enthusiasm had withered at the root. Their scruples or their avarice again opened the pilgrimage of Mecca, and restored the black stone of the Kaaba; and it is needless to inquire into what factions they were broken, or by whose swords they were finally extirpated. The sect of the Carmathians may

They pil-
lage Me-
cca.
A. D. 924.

CHAP. he considered as the second visible cause
LIII of the decline and fall of the empire of the
caliphs.

Result of
the per-
sistence
of a
despotism.

The third and most obvious cause was the weight and magnitude of the empire itself. The caliph Almanon might proudly assert, that it was easier for him to rule the East and the West, than to manage a chess-board of two feet square;^a yet I suspect, that in both those games he was guilty of many fatal mistakes; and I perceive, that in the distant provinces the authority of the first and most powerful of the Abbassides was already impaired. The analogy of despotism invests the representative with the full majesty of the prince; the division and balance of powers might relax the habits of obedience, might encourage the passive subject to enquire into the origin and administration of civil government. He who is born in the purple is seldom worthy to reign; but the elevation of a private man, of a peasant perhaps, or a slave, affords a strong presumption of his courage and capacity. The viceroy of a remote kingdom aspires to secure the property and inheritance of his precarious trust; the nations must rejoice in the presence of their sovereign; and the command of arms and treasures are at once

^a For the text of the *Corinthians*, consult Kintin (Hist. *Almanon* p. 219, 226, 227, 231, 232, 243, *Almanon* (Hymn), p. 179-182, *Almanon* (Hymn), p. 219, 220, 243, 244, 275, and *Almanon* (Hymn), p. 246, 247, 252.) I had some circumstances of history and chronology, which I would not be very far to reach in pursuit of them.

^b Hymn, *Almanon* (Hymn), vol. 9, p. 45, in Hist. *Almanon*.

the object and the instrument of his ambition. CHAP.
124
A change was scarcely visible as long as the lieutenants of the caliph were content with their vicarious title; while they solicited for themselves or their sons a renewal of the imperial grant, and still maintained on the coin, and in the public prayers, the name and prerogative of the commander of the faithful. But in the long and hereditary exercise of power, they assumed the pride and attributes of royalty; the alternative of peace or war, of reward or punishment, depended solely on their will; and the revenues of the government were reserved for local services or private magnificence. Instead of a regular supply of men and money, the successors of the prophet were flattered with the ostentatious gift of an elephant, or a coat of hawks; a suit of silk hangings, or some pounds of musk and saffron.¹

After the revolt of Spain, from the temporal and spiritual supremacy of the Abbassides, the first symptoms of disunion broke forth in the province of Africa. Ibrahim, the son of Aglath, the lieutenant of the vigorous and rigid Harun, bequeathed to the dynasty of the Aghlabites the inheritance of his name and power. The independence or policy of the caliphs dissembled the injury The independence of the Aghlabites.

¹ The *Agribius* of the Arabian Empire may be traced to the time of Khalid, Abd-Allah, and Abd-Allah, under the proper name, in the dictionary of *al-Hisab*, under the proper name. The name of *M. al-Ghazal* (from the name, *al-Ghazal*) is given in the *Agribius* of the *Agribius*, accompanied with some historical accounts, but not sufficient to ascertain the exact time of the establishment of the order of the *Agribius*.



CHAP.
LII.

The Es-
sais.

229-307.
The Es-
sais.

312-372.

312-372.

The Es-
sais.

312-372.

and less, and pursued only with poison the founder of the *Eschirats*,* who erected the kingdom and city of Per on the shores of the western ocean.[†] In the East, the first dynasty was that of the *Taherites*;[‡] the posterity of the valiant Taher, who, in the civil wars of the sons of Harun, had served with much zeal and success the cause of Almanon, the younger brother. He was sent into honourable exile, to command on the banks of the Oxus; and the independence of his successors, who reigned in Chirman till the fourth generation, was palliated by their modest and respectful demeanour, the happiness of their subjects, and the security of their frontier. They were supplanted by one of those adventurers so frequent in the annals of the East, who left his trade of a brazier (from whence the name of *Sofurabes*) for the profession of a robber. In a nocturnal visit to the treasure of the prince of Sistan, Jacobi, the son of

* The *Agathides* and *Eschirats* are the supposed subject of M. de Perle's (Hist. de l'Asie et de l'Europe sous le Dominateur des Arabes, tom. II, p. 1-67).

† To correct the error of 1000, I must cite the *Annuaire* of M. de l'Institut, p. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

‡ The formation of the *Taherites* and *Eschirats*, with the rise of that of the *Eschirats*, are described in the original history and Latin version of Nizami, yet the poet concerning the latter already has been cited by the historian of M. d'Halluin.

Leith, stumbled over a lump of salt, which he unwarily tasted with his tongue. Salt, among the Orientals, is the symbol of hospitality, and the pious robber immediately retired without spoil or damage. The discovery of this honourable behaviour recommended Jacob to pardon and trust; he led an army at first for his benefactor, at last for himself, subdued Persia, and threatened the residence of the Abbassides. On his march towards Bagdad, the conqueror was arrested by a fever. He gave audience in bed to the ambassador of the caliph; and beside him on a table were exposed a naked scymetar, a crust of brown bread, and a bunch of onions. "If I die," said he, "your master is delivered from his fears. If I live, this must determine between us. If I am vanquished, I can return without reluctance to the homely fare of my youth." From the height where he stood, the descent would not have been so soft or harmless; a timely death secured his own repose and that of the caliph, who paid with the most lavish concessions the retreat of his brother Amrou to the palaces of Shiraz and Ispahan. The Abbassides were too feeble to contend, too proud to forgive: they invited the powerful dynasty of the Samanides, who passed the Oxus with ten thousand horse, so poor, that their stirrups were of wood; so brave, that they vanquished the Sassanian army, eight times more numerous than their own. The captive Amrou was sent in chains, a grateful offering to the court of Bagdad; and as the victor was content with the inheritance of Transoxiana and Chorman, the

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III.

The Samanides,
A. D.
874-908.

CHAP.
LIIThe Toulun-
families,A. D.
868-905.The Ikhshid-
dynasties,A. D.
934-969.

realms of Persia returned for a while to the allegiance of the caliphs. The provinces of Syria and Egypt were twice dismembered by their Turkish slaves, of the race of *Toulun* and *Ikhshid*.^a These barbarians, in religion and manners the countrymen of Mahomet, emerged from the bloody factions of the palace to a provincial command and an independent throne: their names became famous and formidable in their time; but the founders of these two potent dynasties confessed, either in words or actions, the vanity of ambition. The first on his death-bed implored the mercy of God to a sinner, ignorant of the limits of his own power: the second, in the midst of four hundred thousand soldiers and eight thousand slaves, concealed from every human eye the chamber where he attempted to sleep. Their sons were educated in the vices of kings; and both Egypt and Syria were recovered and possessed by the Abbassides during an interval of thirty years. In the decline of their empire, Mesopotamia, with the important cities of Mosul and Aleppo, was occupied by the Arabian princes of the tribe of *Hamadan*. The poets of their court could repeat, without a blush, that nature had formed their countenances for beauty, their tongues for eloquence, and their hands for liberality and valour: but the genuine tale of the elevation and reign of the *Hamadanites* exhibits a scene of treachery, murder, and parricide. At the same

The Hamadanites,
A. D. 887-
1001.

^a M. de Goliquet (*Hist. des Musulm.* tom. iii. p. 124-124), has exhausted the Toulunides and Ikhshides of Egypt, and thrown some light on the Carmathians and Hamadanites.

fatal period, the Persian kingdom was again CHAP. usurped by the dynasty of the *Rowides*, by the sword of three brothers, who, under various names, were styled the support and columns of the state, and who, from the Caspian sea to the ocean, would suffer no tyrants but themselves. Under their reign, the language and genius of Persia revived, and the Arabs, three hundred and four years after the death of Mahomet, were deprived of the sceptre of the East.

Rasuli, the twentieth of the Abbassides, and the thirty-ninth of the successors of Mahomet, was the last who deserved the title of commander of the faithful; the last (says Abulfeda) who spoke to the people, or conversed with the learned; the last who, in the expence of his household, represented the wealth and magnificence of the ancient caliphs. After him the lords of the Eastern world were reduced to the most abject misery, and exposed to the blows and insults of a servile condition. The revolt of the provinces circumscribed their dominions within the walls of Bagdad; but that capital still contained an in-

* *Hic est ultimus chalifah qui multum aique ceptus per curiose percurat. . . . Post istum ultimum qui etiam cum eruditis et fidei hominibus fuisse iustitiam agere soleret. Ultimus tandem Chalifah cuiusdam in peritis, fidei, et bonis, cultus, ceterisque virtutibus paucis pueris Chalifahem ad hunc comparat. Abulfeda. Videtur enim paucis postquam iudicis et servitibus iustitia exegit, quem ad hunc, hunc ultimum Chalifahem comparat. Abulfeda. Chalifah. A. M. 161. I have given this passage as the signature and seal of Abulfeda; but the cast of Latin eloquence belongs more properly to Euseb. The Arabian Geograph. p. 115, 117, 161-202, 283, &c.) has supplied me with the most interesting part of this paragraph.*

CHAP.
LII.

—————

numerable multitude, vain of their past fortune, discontented with their present state, and oppressed by the demands of a treasury which had formerly been replenished by the spoil and tribute of nations. Their idleness was exercised by faction and controversy. Under the mask of piety, the rigid followers of Hanbal* invaded the pleasures of domestic life, burst into the houses of plebeians and princes, spilt the wine, broke the instruments, beat the musicians, and dishonoured, with infamous suspicions, the associates of every handsome youth. In each profession, which allowed room for two persons, the one was a votary, the other an antagonist, of Ali; and the Abbassides were awakened by the clamorous grief of the sectaries, who denied their title, and cursed their progenitors. A turbulent people could only be repressed by a military force; but who could satisfy the avarice, or assert the discipline of the mercenaries themselves? The African and the Turkish guards drew their swords against each other, and the chief commanders, the emirs at Omra,† imprisoned or deposed their sovereigns, and violated the sanctuary

* This master, on a similar occasion, showed himself of a more indulgent and tolerating spirit. Ahmed bin Hanbal, the head of one of the four orthodox sects, was born at Bagdad, A. D. 164, and died there A. D. 241. He fought and suffered in the dispute concerning the creation of the Koran.

† The office of vizir was superseded by the emir at Omra, Imperator Imperatorum, a title first instituted by Basil, and which merged at length in the *Basileus* and *Augustus*; *vergetidus*, or *tributus*, or *curis per omnes regiones perfecti*, *Imperator* in omnibus suggestis *principis ejus* in *concordantia* *monitionis* *Imperator* (Abulgharion, *Dynast.* p. 100). It is likewise mentioned by Elmasni (p. 234, 235).

of the march and harai. If the caliphs escaped to the camp or court of any neighbouring prince, their deliverance was a change of servitude, till they were prompted by despair to invite the Bowides, the sultans of Persia, who silenced the factions of Bagdad by their irresistible arms. The civil and military powers were assumed by Moezalkowlai, the second of the three brothers, and a stipend of sixty thousand pounds sterling was assigned by his generosity for the private expence of the commander of the faithful. But on the fortieth day, at the audience of the ambassadors of Chormani, and in the presence of a trembling multitude, the caliph was dragged from his throne to a dungeon, by the command of the stranger, and the rude hands of his Dilemites. His palace was pillaged, his eyes were put out, and the mean ambition of the Abbassides aspired to the vacant station of danger and disgrace. In the school of adversity, the luxurious caliph resumed the grave and abstemious virtues of the primitive times. Deprived of their armour and silken robes, they fasted, they prayed; they studied the koran and the tradition of the Sunnites; they performed with zeal and knowledge the functions of their ecclesiastical character. The respect of nations still waited on the successors of the apostle, the oracles of the law and conscience of the faithful; and the weakness or division of their tyrants sometimes restored the Abbassides to the sovereignty of Bagdad. But their misfortunes had been embittered by the triumph of the Fatimites, the real or

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spurious progeny of All. Arising from the ex-
tremity of Africa, these successful rivals extin-
guished in Egypt and Syria, both the spiritual
and temporal authority of the Abbassides; and
the monarch of the Nile insulted the humble
pontiff on the banks of the Tigris.

Flowers
prince of
the Greeks,
a. m. 843.

In the declining age of the caliph, in the cen-
tury which elapsed after the war of Theophilus and
Motasem, the hostile transactions of the two na-
tions were confined to some inroads by sea and
land, the fruits of their close vicinity and in-
deleasible hatred. But when the eastern world was
convulsed and broken, the Greeks were roused
from their lethargy by the hopes of conquest and
revenge. The Byzantine empire, since the ac-
cession of the Basilian race, had repaired in peace
and dignity; and they might encounter with their
entire strength the front of some petty emir, whose
rear was assailed and threatened by his national
foes of the mahometan faith. The lofty titles of
the morning star, and the death of the Sara-
cens,* were applied in the public acclamations to
Nicephorus Phocas, a prince as renowned in the
camp as he was unpopular in the city. In the
subordinate station of great domestic, or general
of the East, he reduced the island of Crete, and
extirpated the nest of pirates who had so long de-

Reduction
of Crete.

* *Star of the morning*, whose radiant temple was consecrated by his country
gods; suggests the common idiom of reproach and contempt more appli-
cable to Nicephorus than the vain titles of the Greeks. *For want*
of this instance, purgi Eunu, revivimus, aliunde esse ridios, pallide
Reverendissimi Eunu, Nicephorus pater.

flock with impunity, the majesty of the empire.^{CHAP}
 His military genius was displayed in the conduct
 and success of the enterprise, which had so often
 failed with loss and dishonour. The Saracens
 were confounded by the landing of his troops on
 safe and level bridges, which he cast from the
 vessels to the shore. Seven months were con-
 sumed in the siege of Cindia; the despair of the
 native Cretans was stimulated by the frequent aid
 of their brethren of Africa and Spain; and, after
 the mazy wall and double ditch had been stormed
 by the Greeks, no hopeless conflict was still main-
 tained in the streets and houses of the city. The
 whole island was subdued in the capital, and a
 submissive people accepted, without resistance,
 the baptism of the conqueror.^{LIII} Constantinople ap-
 plauded the long-forgotten pomp of a triumph;
 but the imperial diadem was the sole reward
 that could repay the services, or satisfy the am-
 bition, of Nicephorus.

After the death of the younger Romanus, the fourth in lineal descent of the Basilian race, his

¹ More accurately, the inhabitants of Zamora, and not the State (MOR. L. C. vol. p. 187). It is an undoubted fact, that Coahuila was completely and firmly subdued by Maximilian Porfirio (Pag. Critica, tom. III, p. 173-174. Morelos, Coahuila, I, vol. 2, p. 184, 185).

2. A Greek life of St. Basil, the Armenian, was found in the Sinaitic library, and translated into Latin by the French Benedict for the use of practical Hermits. This contemporary legend was a ray of light on Greek and Palmyrene in the 18th century. He found the very-truest kind of Latin documents & persons in superstitious & right of the plainest of reference. . . . but the structure missionary, perhaps with some partiality, as happened some vespere that discipline people. Evidence per contra remains in the library. (Ampl. Teller, p. 100)

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Phocas and
John Zimisces

reigns,

426
1034-1041

widow Theophania successively married Nicophorus Phocas, and his assassin John Zimisces, the two heroes of the age. They reigned as the guardians and colleagues of her infant sons; and the twelve years of their military command form the most splendid period of the Byzantine annals. The subjects and confederates, whom they led to war, appeared, at least in the eyes of an enemy, two hundred thousand strong; and of these about thirty thousand were armed with cuirasses,* a train of four thousand mules attended their march; and their evening camp was regularly fortified with an inclosure of iron spikes. A series of bloody and undecisive combats is nothing more than an anticipation of what would have been effected in a few years by the course of nature; but I shall briefly prosecute the conquests of the two emperors from the hills of Cappadocia to the desert of Bagdad. The sieges of Mopsuestia and Tarsus in Cilicia first exercised the skill and perseverance of their troops, on whom, at this moment, I shall not hesitate to bestow the name of Romans. In the double city of Mopsuestia, which is divided by the river Sarus, two hundred thousand moslems were predestined to death or slavery,† a surprising degree of population,

Conquest of
Cilicia

* Bionetti, *Hist. Grecque*, p. 372, 373. Longinus was disposed to depreciate the Greek power, yet he owns that Nicophorus led against Armenia an army of eighty thousand men.

† Bionetti, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Asie Mineure*, (Paris, 1784), p. 221, 222. *Annales de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 221, 222. *Annales de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 221, 222.

which must at least include the inhabitants of the CHAP.
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dependent districts. They were surrounded and taken by assault; but Tarsus was reduced by the slow progress of famine; and no sooner had the Saracens yielded on honourable terms, than they were mortified by the distant and unprofitable view of the naval treasure of Egypt. They were dismissed with a safe-conduct to the confines of Syria: a part of the old christians had quietly lived under their dominion; and the vacant habitations were replenished by a new colony. But the church was converted into a stable; the pulpit was delivered to the flames; many rich crosses of gold and gems, the spoils of Asiatic churches, were made a grateful offering to the piety or avarice of the emperor; and he transported the gates of Mopsuestia and Tarsus, which were fixed in the wall of Constantinople, an eternal monument of his victory. After they had forced and secured the narrow passes of mount Amanus, the two Roman princes repeatedly carried their arms into the heart of Syria. Yet, instead of assaulting the walls of Antioch, the humanity or superstition of Nicephorus appeared to respect the ancient metropolis of the East: he contented himself with drawing round the city a line of circumvallation; left a stationary army; and instructed his lieutenant to expect, without impatience, the return of

*Jerusalem is
Syria.*

such a catastrophe, or perhaps more correctly, styled in the middle ages (Wadding, *Index* p. 283). Yet I cannot credit the extreme population a few years after the burning of the city: but a city of 400,000 souls seems very likely. See (Thiersch, *op. cit.* 44) Mevill, *Opus* lib. vi, p. 317.

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LII.

Discovery
of Antioch.

spring. But in the depth of winter, in a dark and rainy night, an adventurous subaltern, with three hundred soldiers, approached the rampart, applied his scaling-ladders, occupied two adjacent towers, stood firm against the pressure of multitudes, and bravely maintained his post till he was relieved by the tardy, though effectual, support of his reluctant chief. The first tumult of slaughter and rapine subsided; the reign of Caesar and of Christ was restored; and the efforts of an hundred thousand Saracens, of the armies of Syria and the deserts of Afric, were consumed without effect before the walls of Antioch. The royal city of Aleppo was subject to Scieeddawlat, of the dynasty of Hamadan, who clouded his past glory by the precipitate retreat which abandoned his kingdom and capital to the Roman invaders. In his stately palace, that stood without the walls of Aleppo, they joyfully seized a well furnished magazine of arms, a stable of fourteen hundred mules, and three hundred bags of silver and gold. But the walls of the city withstood the strokes of their battering-rams: and the besiegers pitched their tents on the neighbouring mountain of Joushan. Their retreat exasperated the quarrel of the townsmen and mercenaries; the guard of the gates and ramparts was deserted; and, while they furiously charged each other in the market-place, they were surprised and destroyed by the sword of a common enemy. The male sex was exterminated by the sword; ten thousand youths were led into captivity: the weight of the precious spoil exceeded the strength and number of the

beasts of burden; the superfluous remainder was burnt: and, after a licentious possession of ten days, the Romans marched away from the naked and bleeding city. In their Syrian inroads they commanded the husbandmen to cultivate their lands, that they themselves, in the ensuing season, might reap the benefit: more than an hundred cities were reduced to obedience; and eighteen pulpas of the principal men were committed to the flames, to expiate the sacrilege of the disciples of Mahomet. The classic names of Hierapolis, Apamea, and Emesa, revive for a moment in the list of conquest: the emperor Zimisce encamped in the Paradise of Damascus, and accepted the ransom of a submissive people; and the torrent was only stopped by the impregnable fortress of Tripoli, on the sea-coast of Phœnicia. Since the days of Heracles, the Euphrates, below the passage of mount Taurus, had been impervious, and almost invisible, to the Greeks. The river yielded a free passage to the victorious Zimisce: and the historian may imitate the speed with which he overran the once famous cities of Samosata, Edessa, Martyropolis, Amida,* and Nisibis, the ancient limit of the empire in the neighbourhood of the Tigris. His ardour was quickened by the desire of grasping the virgin treasures of

Passage of
the Euphrates.

* The text of Leo the Deacon, in the corrupt names of Emida and Myrtarium, reveals the sites of Amida and Martyropolis (Martyropolis, see Abulcasis, *Geograph.* p. 211, note. Baskin). All the former, Leo observed, were *maritima* or *fluminis*; of the latter, there were *campagna* *opulenta* et *grana*, *indignis* *etiam* *periculis* *subiactis* *aliqui* *opidi* *longe* *prostratis*.

CHAP. III. Echlatina,* a well known name, under which the Byzantine writer has concealed the capital of the Abbassides. The consternation of the fugitives had already diffused the terror of his name; but the famed riches of Bagdad had already been dissipated by the avarice and prodigality of domestic tyrants. The prayers of the people, and the stern demands of the lieutenant of the Bowless, required the caliph to provide for the defence of the city. The helpless Mothi replied, that his arms, his revenues, and his provinces, had been torn from his hands, and that he was ready to abdicate a dignity which he was unable to support. The emir was inexorable; the furniture of the palace was sold; and the paltry price of forty thousand pieces of gold was instantly consumed in private luxury. But the apprehensions of Bagdad were relieved by the retreat of the Greekæ; thirst and hunger guarded the desert of Mesopotamia; and the emperor, satiated with glory, and laden with oriental spoils, returned to Constantinople, and displayed, in his triumph, the silk, the armature, and three hundred myriads of gold and silver. Yet the powers of the East had been bent, not broken, by this transient hurricane. After

Danger of
Bagdad.

* Et ad Echlatina, quædam Agropotamica regionem vocantur
 unde etiam urbem quæ sequitur sunt in hac urbe exstant reliquie
 munitæ omniisque ditissimam (see Ducas, apud Pagium, loc. cit.
 p. 24). This splendid description, which says not Bagdad, and con-
 sistent possibly apply rather to Heraclea, the true Echlatina of Anville,
 Géog. Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 227, or Yacou, which has certainly
 been mistaken for the city. The name of Echlatina, in the same in-
 detaille name, is transferred by a more classic authority of some pro-
 fessors (Manili, &c.), to the royal seat of Mithridates, King of Pontus.

the departure of the Greeks, the fugitive princes returned to their capitals; the subjects disclaimed their involuntary oaths of allegiance; the moslems again purified their temples, and we returned the idols of the saints and martyrs; the nestorians and jacobites preferred a Saracen to an orthodox master; and the numbers and spirit of the melchites were inadequate to the support of the church and state. Of these extensive conquests, Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia and the isle of Cyprus, was alone restored, a permanent and useful accession to the Roman empire.*

* See the *Annals of Khamrin, Alash-Sarejan, and Abulinda*, from a. n. 341, to a. n. 361, and the reign of Nirephorus Phocas and John Komnenos, in the *Chronicon of Zonaras* from a. d. 1064, p. 329, l. 270, 1185, and *Constantine* (Compert, p. 643-654). Their manifold defects are partly supplied by the *a. d. history of Leo the Armenian*, which Page obtained from the manuscript, and has inserted some remarks in a Latin version (*Scripta*, tom. iii. p. 255, tom. iv. p. 37).

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*State of the eastern empire in the tenth century.—
Extent and divisions.—Wealth and revenue.—Po-
lity of Constantinople.—Titles and offices.—Pride
and power of the emperor.—Tactics of the
Greeks, Arabs, and Franks.—Loss of the Latin
tongue.—Studies and sciences of the Greeks.*

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History of the
Greek empire

Works of
Constantine Por-
phyrogenitus

A RAY of historic light seems to beam from the darkness of the tenth century. We open with curiosity and respect the royal volumes of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,* which he com-
posed at a mature age for the instruction of his son, and which promise to unfold the state of the Eastern empire, both in peace and war, both at home and abroad. In the first of these works he minutely describes the pompous ceremonies of the church and palace of Constantinople, accord-
ing to his own practice and that of his pre-
decessors.^b In the second, he attempts an accu-

* The epitome of History, &c. Porphyrogenitus, born in the year 905, is elegantly edited by Claubien.

Ardas pectus omni hymno Fuitas :

Et regnum cui lux dedit. Cognoscite penitus

Europæ Tyrio variolâ pigmenta in terra.

And Basnage, in his Greek and Latin Grammar, produces many passages expressive of the same idea.

^b A splendid vol. of Constantine, by Constantia Nove et Ecclesia By-
zantina, translated from Constantinople to Paris, Frankfurt, and Leip-
zig, which it was published in a splendid edition by Leich and Neube-
cker.

rate survey of the provinces, the *themes*, as they were then denominated, both of Europe and Asia; the system of Roman tactics, the discipline and order of the troops, and the military operations by land and sea, are explained in the third of these didactic collections, which may be ascribed to Constantine or his father Leo.* In the fourth, of the administration of the empire, he reveals the secrets of the Byzantine policy, in friendly or hostile intercourse with the nations of the north. The literary labours of the age, the practical systems of law, agriculture, and history, might resound to the honour of the subject, and the honour of the Macedonian princes. The sixty books of the *Basilics*,† the code and pandects of civil juris-

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ly, n. 1341, in Latin, with such short pieces as others were led to borrow on the worthy or warlike object of their skill.

† See, in the first volume of *Recherches Historiques, Chronologiques de l'Empire des Romains*, p. 1-24 de *Administrando Imperio*, p. 41-117, with *Yusef*. The text of the last edition of *Monro* is extracted from a ms. at the royal library of Paris, which *Yusef* *Comnène* had formerly into *Oliver*, of *Polignac*, p. 109, and the same is illustrated by two maps of *William* *Dodds*, the *prince* of *geography*, and the acquaintance of the *genius* of *Antoine*.

* The tactics of *Leo* and *Constantine* are published with the aid of some late ms. in the great edition of the works of *Monro*, by the learned *John* *Leah* *Esq.*, p. 211-240, 1751-1757. *Flour*, 1749, yet the text is still corrupt and mutilated, the reader is still deceived and faulty. The imperial library of *Naples* would afford some valuable materials to a new editor (*Vatikan. Biblioth. Græc. tom. vi. p. 369. 370*).

* On the subject of the *Basilics*, *Palmar* (*Hist. Græc. tom. vi. p. 345-349*), and *Helmreich* (*Hist. Græc. tom. vi. p. 305-306*), and *Giamont* (*Historia Civis de Napoli*, tom. i. p. 420-430), as *Blomfield* observes, may be suitably consulted. Six books of the *Greek code* have been published, with a Latin version, by *Charles* *Antoine* *Faguet* (*Paris* 1755), in seven tomes in folio, as other books have

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CHAP. LIII. prudence, were gradually framed in the three first reigns of that prosperous dynasty. The art of agriculture had amused the leisure, and exercised the pen, of the best and wisest of the ancients; and their chosen precepts are comprised in the twenty books of the *Geoponics** of Constantine. At his command, the historical examples of vice and virtue were methodised in fifty-three books;† and every citizen might apply to his contemporaries or himself the lesson or the warning of past times. From the august character of a legislator, the sovereign of the East descends to the more humble office of a teacher and a scribe; and if his successors and subjects were regardless of his paternal cares, we may inherit and enjoy the everlasting legacy.

These im-
perfect
trans-
lations.

A closer survey will indeed reduce the value of the gift, and the gratitude of posterity: in the possession of these imperial treasures we may still deplore our poverty and ignorance; and the fading glories of their authors will be obliterated by in-

even been discovered, and is preserved in Gerard Mercator's *Novus Theatrus Orbis* Civ. et Univ. 1562, v. Of the whole work, the forty books, John Leunclavius has printed (Basl 1573), an edition in 24 books. The same work, or new laws, at Leyd, may be found in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

* I have read the last and best edition of the *Geoponics* by Nicetas Niphetes, Laipze 1761, two vols. in octavo. I read in the preface, that the same emperor ordered the long forgotten remains of historic and philosophy; and his two books of *Hippocratus*, in Hieroglyphic, were translated at Paris, 1530, in Latin (Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* tom. vi, p. 483, 200).

† Of these last books, 40 others, which have been preserved and printed, de *Capitulationibus* by Paulus Gilius, Amstæd 1582, and Daniel Heinschius, August. Virind. 1603, and his *Virtutes et Vicia* by Henry Valentin, or de Valois, Paris 1644.

difference or contempt. The Basilics will sink to CHAP. LIII
 a broken copy, a partial and mutilated version in
 the Greek language, of the laws of Justinian; but
 the sense of the old civilians is often superseded by
 the influence of bigotry: and the absolute prohi-
 bition of divorce, concubinage, and interest for
 money, enslaves the freedom of trade and the hap-
 piness of private life. In the historical book, a
 subject of Constantine might admire the inimitable
 virtues of Greece and Rome: he might learn to
 what a pitch of energy and elevation the human
 character had formerly aspired. But a contrary
 effect must have been produced by a new edition
 of the lives of the saints, which the great logothete,
 or chancellor of the empire, was directed to pre-
 pare; and the dark land of superstition was en-
 riched by the fabulous and florid legends of Simon
 the *Metaphrast*.^a The merits and miracles of the
 whole calendar are of less account in the eyes of
 a sage, than the toil of a single husbandman, who
 multiplies the gifts of the Creator, and supplies the
 food of his brethren. Yet the royal authors of
 the *Geoponica* were more seriously employed in ex-
 poundng the precepts of the destroying art, which
 has been taught since the days of Xenophon,^b as

^a The life and writings of Simon Metaphrastes are described by Haukio (de Scriptisibus Byzant. p. 418-465). This biographer of the saint indulged himself in a large paraphrase of the same or some sense of more ancient acts. His Greek rhinole is again paraphrased in the Latin version of Surian, and answers a thread can be now visible of the original texture.

^b According to the first book of the *Cyropædia*, professors of tactics, a small part of the science of war, were already instituted in Persia, by which Greece must be understood. A good edition of all the

scriptures.

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the arts of heroes and kings. But the *Tactics* of Leo and Constantine are mingled with the baser alloy of the age in which they lived. It was destitute of original genius; they implicitly transcribe the rules and maxims which had been confirmed by victories. It was unskilled in the propriety of style and method: they blindly confound the most distant and discordant institutions, the phalanx of Sparta and that of Macedonia, the legions of Cato and Trajan, of Augustus and Theodosius. Even the use, or at least the importance, of these military rudiments may be fairly questioned: their general theory is dictated by reason; but the merit, as well as difficulty, consists in the application. The discipline of a soldier is formed by exercise rather than by study: the talents of a commander are appropriated to those eyes, though rapid minds, which nature produces to decide the fate of armies and nations: the former is the habit of a life, the latter the glance of a moment; and the battles won by lessons of tactics may be numbered with the epic poems created from the rules of criticism. The book of ceremonies is a recital, tedious yet imperfect, of the despicable pagantry which had infected the church and state since the gradual decay of the purity of the one, and the power of the other. A review of the themes or provinces might promise such authentic and useful information, as the curiosity of government only can obtain, instead of traditional fables. The *Tactics* would be a treatise unworthy of a scholar. His industry might discover many new facts, but his learning might illustrate the military history of the ancients. But this scholar should be dressed a soldier; and, like Quintus Curtius, be in arms.

bles on the origin of the cities, and malicious epigrams on the vices of their inhabitants.* Such information the historian would have been pleased to record; nor should his silence be condemned if the most interesting objects, the population of the capital and provinces, the amount of the taxes and revenues, the numbers of subjects and strangers who served under the imperial standard, have been unnoticed by Leo the philosopher, and his son Constantine. His treatise of the public administration is stained with the same blemishes; yet it is discriminated by peculiar merit: the antiquities of the nations may be doubtful or fabulous; but the geography and manners of the barbaric world are delineated with curious accuracy. Of these nations, the Franks alone were qualified to observe in their turn, and to describe, the metropolis of the East. The ambassador of the great Otta, a bishop of Cremona, has painted the state of Constantinople about the middle of the tenth century: his style is glowing, his narrative lively, his observation keen; and even the prejudices and passions of Liutprand are stamped with an original

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Embassy of
Liutprand.

* After observing that the descent of the Opprobrious runs in proportion to their rank and riches, he writes a more pointed epigram, which is ascribed to Demetrius.

*Καταχρῆται οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἵσταται, αὐτὰς οὐκ ἔχει
Σοφίαν, γυναικὶς ἐμμενέσθαι.*

The sting is precisely the same with the French epigram against Frodo: *Un serpent mordit Jean Foulon—Et le serpent se mordit lui-même.* As the Paris note has noticed and in the Anthology, I should be curious to learn through what channel it was conveyed for their inclosure (Constantinople, Prolegomena, de Thoma, v. 1. Bonn-Aachen, Germ. tom. ii, p. 35. French Anthology, l. 1. p. 144).

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character of freedom and genius.¹ From this scanty fund of foreign and domestic materials I shall investigate the form and substance of the Byzantine empire; the provinces and wealth, the civil government and military force, the character and literature, of the Greeks in a period of six hundred years, from the reign of Heraclius to the successful invasion of the Franks or Latins.

The
throne, in
provinces
of the em-
pire, and
its limits in
every age.

After the final division between the sons of Theodosius, the swarms of barbarians from Scythia and Germany overspread the provinces, and extinguished the empire of ancient Rome. The weakness of Constantinople was concealed by extent of dominion: her limits were inviolate, or at least entire; and the kingdom of Justinian was enlarged by the splendid acquisition of Africa and Italy. But the possession of these new conquests was transient and precarious; and almost a moiety of the eastern empire was torn away by the arms of the Saracens. Syria and Egypt were oppressed by the Arabian caliphs; and, after the reduction of Africa, their lieutenants invaded and subdued the Roman provinces which had been changed into the Gothic monarchy of Spain. The islands of the Mediterranean were not inaccessible to their naval powers; and it was from their extreme stations, the harbours of Crete and the fortresses of Cilicia, that the faithful or rebel emirs insulted the majesty of the throne and capital. The remaining provinces, under the obedience of the em-

¹ The *Legalis Constitutio Episcoporum* of Nicephorus Phocas, is inserted in Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italianarum*, tom. ix. pars. i.

pirates, were cast into a new mould; and the jurisdiction of the presidents, the consulars, and the counts, was superseded by the institution of the *themes*,* or military governments, which prevailed under the successors of Heraclius, and are described by the pen of the royal author. Of the twenty-nine themes, twelve in Europe and seventeen in Asia, the origin is obscure, the etymology doubtful or capricious: the limits were arbitrary and fluctuating; but some particular names, that sound the most strangely to our ear, were derived from the character and attributes of the troops that were maintained at the expense, and for the guard, of the respective divisions. The vanity of the Greek princes most eagerly grasped the shadow of conquest, and the memory of lost dominion. A new Mesopotamia was created on the western side of the Euphrates: the appellation and praetor of Sicily were transferred to a narrow slip of Calabria; and a fragment of the duchy of Beneventum was promoted to the style and title of the theme of Lombardy. In the decline of the Arabian empire, the successors of Constantine might indulge their pride in more solid advantages. The victories of Nicephorus, John Zimisces, and Basil the second, revived the name, and enlarged the boundaries of the Roman name: the province of Cilicia, the metropolis of Antioch, the islands of

* See *Constantine de Thematibus*, in *Banduri*, tom. I. p. 145b, who writes, that the word is *ex veteribus*. *Thema* is used by *Strabo* (*Geograph.* l. ii. c. 2) for a legion, from whence the name was easily transferred to the post or garrison (*Dieringii Gloss. Græc.* tom. i. p. 487, 488). Some etymologies are attempted for the *Opulide*, *Opulianæ*, *Thracianæ*, *Ulcianæ*.

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Crete and Cyprus, were restored to the allegiance of Christ and Caesar: one third of Italy was annexed to the throne of Constantinople: the kingdom of Bulgaria was destroyed; and the last sovereigns of the Macedonian dynasty extended their sway from the sources of the Tigris to the neighbourhood of Rome. In the eleventh century, the prospect was again clouded by new enemies and new misfortunes: the relics of Italy were swept away by the Norman adventurers; and almost all the Asiatic branches were dissevered from the Roman trunk by the Turkish conquerors. After these losses, the emperors of the Comnenian family continued to reign from the Danube to Peloponnesus, and from Belgrade to Nice, Trebizond, and the winding stream of the Meander. The spacious provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, were obedient to their sceptre: the possession of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, was accompanied by the fifty islands of the *Ægean* or *Holy sea*,* and the remnant of their empire transcends the measure of the largest of the European kingdoms.

The same princes might assert with dignity and truth, that of all the monarchs of Christendom

* *Αἰὲς νήσοις* as it is styled by the modern Greeks, from which the ancient names of *Archipelago*, *Ἰνδιπελ*, and the *Aurhor*, have been transformed by geography and science. *De Anselmo*, *Geographicæ Scholæ*, tom. 1, p. 251. *Analyses de la Carte de la Grèce*, p. 365. The number of islands or islets, in all the islands and the adjacent mountains of *Attica* (*Observations de Bâton*, vol. 42, second, minute partie), might justify the opinion of *Isoli*, *epos*; or slight alterations from the original *Isopos*, proposed by the *Doctores*, *Isoli*. In their dialect, *Isoli* the operative sense of *Isoli* is given, to the bounding waters (*Veneris*, *apud Cellarium*, *Geograph. Antiq.* tom. 1, p. 320).

they possessed the greatest city,* the most ample CHAP.
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revenue, the most flourishing and populous state.
With the decline and fall of the empire, the cities ^{General}
of the West had decayed and fallen; nor could ^{wealth and}
the ruins of Rome, or the mud walls, wooden ^{populous}
havel, and narrow precincts, of Paris and Lon-
don, prepare the Latin stranger to contemplate
the situation and extent of Constantinople, her
stately palaces and churches, and the arts and
luxury of an innumerable people. Her treasures
might attract, but her virgin strength had repelled,
and still promised to repel, the audacious invasion
of the Persian and Bulgarian, the Arab and the
Russian. The provinces were less fortunate and
impregnable; and few districts, few cities, could
be discovered which had not been violated by some
ferce barbarian, impatient to despoil, because he
was hopeless to possess. From the age of Justinian
the eastern empire was sinking below its former
level; the powers of destruction were more active
than those of improvement; and the calamities of
war were embittered by the more permanent evils
of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. The captive
who had escaped from the barbarians was often
stripped and imprisoned by the ministers of his
sovereign: the Greek superstition relaxed the
mind by prayer, and emaciated the body by fast-
ing; and the multitude of convents and festivals
diverted many hands and many days from the tem-
poral service of mankind. Yet the subjects of the

* According to the Jewish writers who had visited Europe and Asia, Constantinople was equalled only by Babylon, the greatest city of the Tatarian Empire in the East, the Turkish, the Russian, and the Persian.

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Byzantine empire were still the most dexterous and diligent of nations; their country was blessed by nature with every advantage of soil, climate, and situation; and, in the support and restoration of the arts, their patient and peaceful temper was more useful than the warlike spirit and feudal anarchy of Europe. The provinces that still adhered to the empire were repopled and enriched by the misfortunes of those which were irrecoverably lost. From the yoke of the caliphs, the catholics of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, retired to the allegiance of their prince, to the society of their brethren; the moveable wealth, which eludes the search of oppression, accompanied and alleviated their exile; and Constantinople received into her bosom the fugitive trade of Alexandria and Tyre. The chiefs of Armenia and Scythia, who fled from hostile or religious persecution, were hospitably entertained: their followers were encouraged to build new cities, and to cultivate waste lands; and many spots, both in Europe and Asia, preserved the name, the manners, or at least the memory, of these national colonies. Even the tribes of barbarians, who had seated themselves in arms on the territory of the empire, were gradually reclaimed to the laws of the church and state; and as long as they were separated from the Greeks, their posterity supplied a race of faithful and obedient soldiers. Did we possess sufficient materials to survey the twenty-nine themes of the Byzantine monarchy, our curiosity might be satisfied with a chosen example: it is fortunate enough that the clearest light should be

thrown on the most interesting province, and the name of Peloponnesus will awaken the attention of the classic reader.

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As early as the eighth century, in the troubled reign of the Iconoclasts, Greece, and even Peloponnesus,⁹ were overrun by some Sclavonian bands who outstripped the royal standard of Bulgaria. The strangers of old, Cæteus, and Danaus, and Pelops, had planted in that fruitful soil the seeds of policy and learning; but the savages of the north eradicated what yet remained of their sickly and withered roots. In this irruption, the country and the inhabitants were transformed: the Grecian blood was contaminated; and the proudest nobles of Peloponnesus were branded with the names of foreigners and slaves. By the diligence of succeeding princes, the land was in some measure purified from the barbarians; and the humble remnant was bound by an oath of obedience, tribute, and military service, which they often renewed and often violated. The siege of Patras was formed by a singular concurrence of the Sclavonians of Peloponnesus and the Saracens of Africa. In their last distress, a pious fiction of the approach of the prætor of Corinth, revived the courage of the citizens. Their sally was bold and

[illegible]

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LIII.FRIENDS OF
LIBERTY.

successful; the strangers embarked, the rebels submitted; and the glory of the day was ascribed to a phantom or a stranger, who fought in the foremost ranks under the character of St. Andrew the apostle. The shrine which contained his relics was decorated with the trophies of victory, and the captive race was for ever devoted to the service and vassalage of the metropolitan church of Patras. By the revolt of two Selavonian tribes in the neighbourhood of Helos and Lacedæmon, the peace of the peninsula was often disturbed. They sometimes insulted the weakness, and sometimes resisted the oppression, of the Byzantine government, till at length the approach of their hostile brethren extorted a golden bull to define the rights and obligations of the *Exxerites* and *Milengi*, whose annual tribute was defined at twelve hundred pieces of gold. From these strangers the imperial geographer has accurately distinguished a domestic and perhaps original race, who, in some degree, might derive their blood from the much-injured helots. The liberality of the Romans, and especially of Augustus, had enfranchised the maritime cities from the dominion of Sparta; and the continuance of the same benefit ennobled them with the title of *Eleutheroi*, or free Laconians.³ In the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, they had acquired the name of *Heinotes*, under which they dishonour the claim of liberty by the inhuman pillage of all that is shipwrecked on their rocky shores. Their territory, barren of corn, but fruit-

³ See *Strabo*, *Geograph.* l. viii. p. 338. *Procopius*, *De gest. Justiniani* l. iii. c. 11, p. 161, 162. *Procop.* *Hist. Secret.* l. ix. c. 8.

ful of olives, extended to the cape of Malea: they accepted a chief or prince from the Byzantine praetor; and a light tribute of four hundred pieces of gold was the badge of their immunity rather than of their dependence. The freemen of Laconia assumed the character of Romans, and long adhered to the religion of the Greeks. By the zeal of the emperor Basil, they were baptised in the faith of Christ: but the altars of Venus and Neptune had been crowned by the rustic votaries five hundred years after they were proscribed in the Roman world. In the theme of Peloponnese, forty cities were still numbered, and the declining state of Sparta, Argos, and Corinth, may be suspended in the tenth century, at an equal distance, perhaps, between their antique splendour and their present desolation. The duty of military service, either in person or by substitute, was imposed on the lands or benefices of the province: a sum of five pieces of gold was assessed on each of the substantial tenants; and the same capitation was shared among several heads of inferior value. On the proclamation of an Italian war, the Peloponnesians excused themselves by a voluntary oblation of one hundred pounds of gold (four thousand pounds sterling), and a thousand horses with their arms and trappings. The churches and monasteries furnished their contingent; a sacrilegious profit was extorted from the sale of ecclesiastical honours; and the indigent bishop of Leucedæ* was

* Constant. de Administrandis Imperiis, l. 4. c. 33, 34, 35.

† The rock of Leucate was the southern promontory of the Peloponnese and diocesis. Had he been the exclusive possessor of the Leucæ's Leg.

angel, and of the prophet Elijah. She gave six hundred pieces of silk and linen, of various use and denomination: the silk was painted with the Tyrian dye, and adorned by the labours of the needle; and the linen was so exquisitely fine, that an entire piece might be rolled in the hollow of a cane.* In his description of the Greek manufactures, an historian of Sicily discriminates their price, according to the weight and quality of the silk, the closeness of the texture, the beauty of the colours, and the taste and materials of the embroidery. A single, or even a double or triple thread was thought sufficient for ordinary sale; but the union of six threads composed a piece of stronger and more costly workmanship. Among the colours, he celebrates, with affectation of eloquence, the fiery blaze of the scarlet, and the softer lustre of the green. The embroidery was raised either in silk or gold: the more simple ornament of stripes or circles was surpassed by the nicer imitation of flowers; the vestments that were fabricated for the palace or the altar often glittered with precious stones; and the figures were delineated in strings of oriental pearls.† Till the

* See Commentaries on Vir. *Æneid* v. 74, 75, 76, p. 195, 197. In Arabic, says Tauschmann, who allows himself to say many technical or barbarous words; *Tauschmann*, says he, is not without much sense and not without ornament. Damages labour in dress; but he was not a weaver.

† The manufactures of Palermo, as they are described by Hugo Palermus (Hug. Siculus in poem. in *Manuscript Scripta, Rerum Italianarum*, tom. 2. p. 126, is a copy of those of Greece. Without mentioning his unnecessary redundance, which I have suffered to the last, I still observe, that in this passage, the strange word *decoramenta*

lucious lord, like the old Etrurians in the service of Darins.^a A stately edifice, in the palace of Palermo, was erected for the use of this industrious colony;^b and the art was propagated by their children and disciples, to satisfy the increasing demand of the western world. The decay of the looms of Sicily may be ascribed to the troubles of the island, and the competition of the Italian cities. In the year thirteen hundred and fourteen, Lucca alone, among her sister republics, enjoyed the lucrative monopoly.^c A domestic revolution dispersed the manufacturers of Florence, Bologna, Venice, Milan, and even the countries beyond the Alps; and thirteen years after this event, the statutes of Modena enjoin the planting of mulberry trees, and regulate the duties on raw silk.^d The northern climates are less propitious to the education of the silk-worm; but the industry of France and England^e is supplied and enriched by the productions of Italy and China.

^a Nizam is Menah, l. ii. c. 9, p. 52. He describes these Greeks as skilled weavers which is correct, as they exported more raw than manufactured silks.

^b Hugo Fabronius attests their nobility efforts. The Arabs had not introduced silk, though they had planted cotton and made sugar in the plains of Palermo.

^c See the Life of Catherine Castaldi, not by Marchand, but by his more authentic biographer Nicholas Teyssier. Marchand, who has introduced it in his sixth volume of his *Recherches*, quotes this curious passage in his *Notice Authentique* tom. i. dissert. xiv. p. 42-43.

^d From the new statutes, as they are quoted by Marchand in his *Notice Authentique* tom. ii. dissert. xix. p. 360-3.

^e The second silk manufacture was established in England in the year 1660 (Anderson's *Commercial Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 41) but it is to the introduction of the silkworm of Naples that we owe the agricultural colony.

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LIII.Revenue of
the Greek
empire.

I must repeat the complaint that the vague and scanty memorials of the times will not afford any just estimate of the taxes, the revenue, and the resources of the Greek empire. From every province of Europe and Asia the rivulets of gold and silver discharged into the imperial reservoir a copious and perennial stream. The separation of the branches from the trunk increased the relative magnitude of Constantinople; and the maxims of despotism contracted the state to the capital, the capital to the palace, and the palace to the royal person. A Jewish traveller, who visited the East in the twelfth century, is lost in his admiration of the Byzantine riches. "It is here," says Benjamin of Tudela, "in the queen of cities, that the tributes of the Greek empire are annually deposited, and the lofty towers are filled with precious magazines of silk, purple, and gold. It is said, that Constantinople pays each day to her sovereign twenty thousand pieces of gold; which are levied on the shops, taverns, and markets, on the merchants of Persia and Egypt, of Russia and Hungary, of Italy and Spain, who frequent the capital by sea and land." In all pecuniary matters, the authority of a Jew is doubtless respectable; but as the three hundred and sixty-five days would produce a yearly income exceeding seven millions sterling, I am tempted to

* *Voyage de Benjamin de Tudela*, tom. i. c. 5, p. 44-52. The Hebrew text has been translated into French by that marvellous child Racine, who has added a volume of such learning. The errors and fictions of the Jewish rabbi, are on a sufficient ground to deny the reality of his travels.

retrrench at least the numerous festivals of the Greek calendar. The mass of treasure that was saved by Theodora and Basil the second, will suggest a splendid, though indefinite, idea of their supplies and resources. The mother of Michael, before she retired to a cloister, attempted to check or expose the prodigality of her ungrateful son, by a free and faithful account of the wealth which he inherited; one hundred and nine thousand pounds of gold, and three hundred thousand of silver, the fruits of her own economy and that of her deceased husband.¹ The avarice of Basil is not less renowned than his valour and fortune: his victorious armies were paid and rewarded without breaking into the mass of two hundred thousand pounds of gold, (about eight millions sterling), which he had buried in the subterraneous vaults of the palace.² Such accumulation of treasure is rejected by the theory and practice of modern policy; and we are more apt to compute the national riches by the use and abuse of the public credit. Yet the maxims of antiquity are still embraced by a monarch formidable to his enemies; by a republic respectable to her allies; and both have attained their respective ends, of military power and domestic tranquillity.

Whatever might be consumed for the present wants, or reserved for the future use, of the state, Pomp and luxury of the empire, 1784.

¹ See the *anabasis* of Theophrastus (l. iv. p. 107b. *Collected Op.* 244), and *Strabo* (viii. li. 1. 21, p. 157).

² *Strabo* (viii. li. 1. 22, p. 154), himself of private, and the more than public spectacles of talents, which, in a liberal sense and spirit of emulation, would multiply many fold the treasure of Basil.

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BY MESSRS.

the first and most secret demand was for the pomp and pleasure of the emperor; and his discretion only could define the measure of his private expence. The princes of Constantinople were far removed from the simplicity of nature; yet, with the revolving seasons, they were led by taste or fashion to withdraw to a purer air, from the smoke and tumult of the capital. They enjoyed, or affected to enjoy, the rustic festival of the vintage: their leisure was amused by the exercise of the chase and the calmer occupation of fishing, and in the summer heats, they were shaded from the sun, and refreshed by the cooling breezes from the sea. The coasts and islands of Asia and Europe were covered with their magnificent villas; but, instead of the modest art which secretly strives to hide itself and to decorate the scenery of nature, the marble structure of their gardens served only to expose the riches of the lord, and the labours of the architect. The successive casualties of inheritance and forfeiture had rendered the sovereign proprietor of many stately houses in the city and suburbs, of which twelve were appropriated to the ministers of state; but the great palace,^a the centre of the imperial residence, was fixed during eleven centuries to the same position, between the hippodrome, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and the gardens, which descended by many a terrace to the shores of the

The palace
of Constantinople.

^a For a description and minute delineation of the imperial palace, see the Constantinople Chronicle (l. 3, c. 4, p. 112-113) of Ducas, the Tillamans of the middle ages. Never but Julius the German, perhaps two antiquaries more laborious and accurate than these two authors of lively France.

Propontis. The primitive edifice of the first Constantine was a copy or rival of ancient Rome; the gradual improvements of his successors aspired to emulate the wonders of the old world,¹ and in the tenth century, the Byzantine palace excited the admiration, at least of the Latins, by an unquestionable pre-eminence of strength, size, and magnificence.² But the toil and treasure of so many ages had produced a vast and irregular pile: each separate building was marked with the character of the times and of the founder: and the want of space might excuse the reigning monarch who demolished, perhaps with secret satisfaction, the works of his predecessors. The economy of the emperor Theophilus allowed a more free and ample scope for his domestic luxury and splendour. A favourite ambassador, who had astonished the Abbassides themselves by his pride and liberality, presented on his return the model of a palace which the caliph of Bagdad had recently constructed on the banks of the Tigris. The model was instantly copied and surpassed: the new buildings of Theophilus³ were accompanied with gardens,

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¹ The Byzantine palace surpassed the Capitol, the palace of Pergamum, the Babylonian wood (*palais* *royal*), the temple of Atrium at Cyrene, the pyramids, the Pyramus, &c. according to the epigram (Antholog. Græc. t. II, p. 428, 429). Herodotus, and Warburton ascribed to Julius, ex-prefect of Egypt. Seventy-one of his epigrams, some thirty, are collected in Boeckh's *Antholog. Græc.* tom. II, p. 428-439; but this is wanting.

² *Constantinopolitana Palatia* non palatium sine, verum altius locutione, similiter quæ antiquæ ædificiorum magnitudinem possunt designare, Hist. t. V, c. 8, p. 414.

³ See the anonymous continuation of Theophanes (p. 53, 54, 55), whom I have followed in the name and number of streets of *Le Bas* (*Hist. de Bas. Empire*, tom. III, p. 434, 435).

CHAP. and with five churches, one of which was con-
 LIII. spicuous for size and beauty: it was crowned with
 three domes, the roof of gilt brass reposed on
 columns of Italian marble, and the walls were in-
 crusted with marbles of various colours. In the
 face of the church, a semicircular portico, of the
 figure and name of the Greek *sigma*, was supported
 by fifteen columns of Phrygian marble, and the
 subterraneous vaults were of a similar construction.
 The square before the *sigma* was decorated with a
 fountain, and the margin of the basin was lined
 and encompassed with plates of silver. In the be-
 ginning of each season, the basin instead of
 water was replenished with the most exquisite
 fruits, which were abandoned to the populace for
 the entertainment of the prince. He enjoyed this
 tumultuous spectacle from a throne resplendent
 with gold and gems, which was raised by a marble
 stair case to the height of a lofty terrace. Below
 the throne were seated the officers of his guards,
 the magistrates, the chiefs of the factions of the
 circus; the inferior steps were occupied by the
 people, and the place below was covered with
 troops of dancers, singers, and pantomimes. The
 square was surrounded by the hall of justice, the
 arsenal, and the various offices of business and
 pleasure; and the *purple* chamber was named from
 the annual distribution of robes of scarlet and
 purple by the hand of the empress herself. The
 long series of the apartments was adapted to the
 seasons, and decorated with marble and porphyry,
 with painting, sculpture, and mosaics, with a
 profusion of gold, silver, and precious stones

His fanciful magnificence employed the skill and patience of such artists as the times could afford; but the taste of Athens would have despised their frivolous and costly labours; a golden tree with its leaves and branches, which sheltered a multitude of birds, warbling their artificial notes, and two lions of massy gold, and of the natural size, who looked and roared like their brethren of the forest. The successors of Theophilus, of the Basilian and Comnenian dynasties, were not less ambitious of leaving some memorial of their residence; and the portion of the palace most splendid and august, was dignified with the title of the golden *trichlinium*.^a With becoming modesty, the rich and noble Greeks aspired to imitate their sovereign; and when they passed through the streets on horseback, in their robes of silk and embroidery, they were mistaken by the children for kings.^b A matron of Pechonessus,^c who had cherished the infant fortunes of Basil the Macedonian, was excited by tenderness or vanity to visit the greatness of her adopted son. In a journey of five hundred miles, from Patras to Constantinople, her age or indolence

Frontless
and unadorned.

^a In omni trichlinio quæ præstantior sit pars palæstinarum (the greater Romanesque) domus trichlinio parietes (above described). *Class. Journ.* Hist. L. v. c. 8. p. 168. The true signification of trichlinio trichlinium tris vel plura sicut in domo eorum significat. *see* Theophrastus (*de Hist. Græc. et Observat.* c. 10. p. 180), and *Revue des Conventions de Constantinople*, p. 71.

^b In equis vestiti viri Basilium de Thessalia regem illis videtur persequi. I prefer the Latin version of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (p. 44, to the French of Baudouin *ibid.*), p. 40.

^c See the history of this journey, trichlinio, c. and *Constantine de la Vie de Basil*, by his grandson Constantine (p. 74, 75, 76 p. 181-193).

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declined the fatigue of an horse or carriage: the soft litter or bed of Danielis was transported on the shoulders of ten robust slaves; and as they were relieved at easy distances, a band of three hundred was selected for the performance of this service. She was entertained in the Byzantine palace with filial reverence, and the honours of a queen; and whatever might be the origin of her wealth, her gifts were not unworthy of the regal dignity. I have already described the fine and curious manufactures of Peloponnesus of linen, silk, and woollen; but the most acceptable of her presents consisted in three hundred beautiful youths, of whom one hundred were eunuchs; * for she was not ignorant," says the historian, "that the air of the palace is more congenial to such insects, than a shepherd's dairy to the flies of the summer." During her lifetime, she bestowed the greater part of her estates in Peloponnesus, and her testament instituted Leo, the son of Basil, her universal heir. After the payment of the legacies, fourscore villas or farms were added to the imperial domain; and three thousand slaves of Danielis were enfranchised by their new lord, and transplanted as a colony to the Italian coast. From this example of a private matron, we may estimate the wealth and magnificence of

* *Constitutiones singulorum, Duranget, Gloss.* Given verumt, 270 p. 270. *Christians et regis, prout in dictis quibus Variatibus 270 p. 270. ab immensum locum datus aditus et in Hispaniam datus* (Lutprand, l. vi. c. 3, p. 410).—The last circumstance of the absolute despotism of Leo I. is an evidence to him in the tenth century, such active speculations of commerce in Lorraine.

the emperors. Yet our enjoyments are confined CHAR. LIII
by a narrow circle; and, whatsoever may be its
value, the luxury of life is possessed with more in-
nocence and safety by the master of his own,
than by the steward of the public, fortune.

In an absolute government, which levels the names and titles of the imperial family.
distinctions of noble and plebeian birth, the
sovereign is the sole fountain of honour; and the
rank, both in the palace and the empire, depends
on the titles and offices which are bestowed and
resumed by his arbitrary will. Above a thousand
years, from Vespasian to Alexis Comnenus,*
the *Cæsar* was the second person, or at least the
second degree, after the supreme title of *Augustus*
was more freely communicated to the sons and
brothers of the reigning monarch. To elude,
without violating his promise to a powerful associ-
ate, the husband of his sister; and, without giv-
ing himself an equal, to reward the piety of his
brother Isaac, the crafty Alexius interposed a new
and superfluous dignity. The happy flexibility
of the Greek tongue allowed him to compound
the names of Augustus and emperor (basileus and
autocrat), and the union produced the sonorous
title of *sebastokrator*. He was exalted above the
Cæsar on the first step of the throne; the public
acclamations repeated his name; and he was only

* But the Alexius D. M. P. M. of Anna Comnena, who, except
his blind piety, may be compared to Maximilian de Montperoux. As
the imperial reverence for titles and names, she makes her father and
brother, the emperor of this age, etc. the great emperor, and
certainly emperor.

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distinguished from the sovereign by some peculiar ornament of the head and feet. The emperor alone could assume the purple or red buskins, and the close diadem or tiara, which imitated the fashion of the Persian kings.* It was an high pyramidal cap of cloth or silk, almost concealed by a profusion of pearls and jewels: the crown was formed by an horizontal circle and two arches of gold: at the summit, the point of their intersection, was placed a globe or cross, and two strings or lappets of pearl depended on either cheek. Instead of red, the buskins of the Sebastocrator and Cæsar, were green; and on their open coronets or crowns, the precious gems were more sparingly distributed. Beside and below the Cæsar, the fancy of Alexis created the *panhypersebaste* and the *protosebaste*, whose sound and signification will satisfy a Grecian ear. They imply a superiority and a priority above the simple name of Augustus; and this sacred and primitive title of the Roman prince was degraded to the kinsman and servants of the Byzantine court. The daughter of Alexis applauds, with fond complacency, this artful gradation of hopes and honours; but the science of words is accessible to the meanest capacity: and this vain dictionary was easily enriched by the pride of his successors.

* *Tyrannus, regnum, basileus*; see Retake, ad Constantinum, p. 14, 15. DuRoi has given a learned dissertation on the crown of Constantinople, Rome, Fazzos, &c. (see Junius, xvi, p. 798-300); but of his thirty-two medals, none clearly tally with Anne's description.

To their favourite sons or brothers, they imparted the more lofty appellation of *lord* or *despot*, which was illustrated with new ornaments and prerogatives, and placed immediately after the person of the emperor himself. The five titles of 1. *Despot*; 2. *Sebastocrator*; 3. *Cæsar*; 4. *Panhypersébastos*; and, 5. *Protosébastos*; were usually confined to the princes of his blood: they were the emanations of his majesty: but as they exercised no regular functions, their existence was useless, and their authority precarious.

But in every monarchy the substantial powers of government must be divided and exercised by the ministers of the palace and treasury, the fleet and army. The titles alone can differ; and in the revolution of ages, the comites and prefects, the prætor and quæstor, immensely descended, while their servants rose above their heads to the first honours of the state. 1. In a monarchy, which refers every object to the person of the prince, the care and ceremonies of the palace form the most respectable department. The *eupatista*,* so illustrious in the age of Justinian, was supplanted by the *protosébastos*, whose primitive functions were limited to the custody of the wardrobe. From thence his jurisdiction was

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Officers of
the palace,
the senate,
and the
army.

* *Pars maxima rerum, sedu Aristoteli dignior*

Orillon per verum vocatus Cæsar Palati

says the African Cæsar (the Laodicean Justin, l. i, 126); and in the same century (the sixth), Constantine represents him, who, very soon afterwards, inter numerous *sebastos priores* into public vigils (Valla. vii, 15). But this great officer, *eupatista*, exercising no function in his office, was soon down by the moderns to the fifth rank (Cæsar. c. 2, p. 24).

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extended over the numerous internals of pomp and luxury; and he presided with his silver wand at the public and private audience. 2. In the ancient system of Constantine, the name of *logothete*, or accountant, was applied to the receivers of the finances: the principal officers were distinguished as the *logothetes* of the domain, of the posts, the army, the private and public treasure; and the great *logothete*, the supreme guardian of the laws and revenues, is compared with the chancellor of the Latin monarchies.¹ His discerning eye pervaded the civil administration; and he was assisted, in due subordination, by the eparch or prefect of the city, the first secretary, and the keepers of the privy seal, the archives, and the red or purple ink which was reserved for the sacred signature of the emperor alone.² The introducer and interpreter of foreign ambassadors were the great *chamus*³ and the *dragonar*,⁴ two names

¹ Nicetas (in Manut. l. vii. c. 1.) defines him as *ἀρχισυντακτικὸς*, or *Πρόεδρος αὐτοῦ τοῦ θρόνου*. 'Yet the epithet of *αρχὸς* was added by the later Antonines (Ducange, Gloss. l. p. 822, 823).

² From l. vi. c. 32, p. 370, the imperial ink, which is well visible on some original acts, was a mixture of vermilion and amethyst, or purple. The emperor's guardsmen, who shared in this prerogative, always walked in greenish tunics, and the senate. See the Hieronymian Epitomatum (tom. ii. p. 511-513), a valuable description.

³ The vulgar name is given to Alcibiades (Anna Comnena, l. vi. p. 170, Ducange ad loc. (1) and Porphyrogenitus when speaks of the *παλαιὸς ἄρχος* (p. vi. c. 1.) p. 30, l. xlii. c. 21). The *Chamus* seems to mean at the head of 100 officers (Hiccart's Ottoman Empire, p. 519, various edition).

⁴ *Dragonar* is the Arabic name of an interpreter (cf. Herbelot, p. 824, 825), every one speaks of some *dragones* (see Porphyrogenitus, Anna Comnena, c. 1. No. 10, p. 31). See Villahermosin (No. 94), Buchholzius (Opus. iv. p. 338), and Ducange (Observations sur Villahermosin, and Gloss. Gloss. et Latin).

of Turkish origin, and which are still familiar to the sublime Porte. 3. From the humble style and service of guards, the *domestics* incessantly rose to the station of generals; the military themes of the East and West, the legions of Europe and Asia, were often divided, till the great domestic was finally invested with the universal and absolute command of the land forces. The *protospathar*, in his original functions, was the assistant of the emperor when he mounted on horseback; he gradually became the lieutenant of the great domestic in the field; and his jurisdiction extended over the stables, the cavalry, and the royal train of hunting and hawking. The *stratopediarch* was the great judge of the camp; the *protospathaire* commanded the guards; the *countable*,* the great *arteriarch*, and the *acolyths*, were the separate chiefs of the Franks, the barbarians, and the Varangi, or English, the mercenary strangers, who, in the decay of the national spirit, formed the nerve of the Byzantine armies. 4. The naval powers were under the command of the great *duke*; in his absence they obeyed the great *demurgize* of the fleet; and, in his place the *mir*, or *admiral*, a name of Saracen extraction,† but which has been naturalized in all the modern languages of Europe. Of these officers, and of many more whom it would be useless to enumerate, the civil

* *Stratopede*, or *stratopede*; a corruption from the Latin *Comes* actually, as the French *Comestable*. In a military sense, it was used by the Greeks in the eleventh century; it has as early as in French.

† It was chiefly borrowed from the Normans. In the middle ages, *Chamier* retained the subject of duty among the great officers.

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and military hierarchy was framed. Their honours and emoluments, their dress and titles, their annual salutations and respective pre-eminence, were balanced with more exquisite labour than would have fixed the constitution of a free people; and the code was almost perfect when this hairless fabric, the monument of pride and servitude, was for ever buried in the ruins of the empire.^b

A sensation
at the em-
peror.

The most lofty titles, and the most humble postures, which devotion has applied to the supreme Being, have been prostituted by flattery and fear to creatures of the same nature with ourselves. The mode of *adoration*,^c of falling prostrate on the ground, and kissing the feet of the emperor, was borrowed by Dioclesian from Persian servitude; but it was continued and aggravated till the last age of the Greek monarchy. Excepting only on Sundays, when it was waived, from a motive of religious pride, this humiliating reverence was exacted from all who entered the royal presence, from the princes invested with the diadem and purple, and from the ambassadors who represented their independent sovereigns, the caliphs of Asia, Egypt, or Spain, the kings of France and Italy, and the Latin emperors of ancient Rome. In his transaction of business, Lint-

^a The church of honours and offices is drawn from George Costas, and Cypellus, who survived the taking of Constantinople by the Turks: his state was though rising near the Ottoman Empire in Asia &c. has been illustrated by the notes of Costas, and six three books of Costas, a Frenchman.

^b The essential relation of carrying the hand to the mouth, &c. is the mark of the Latin world, where obscure. See our learned Hobbes (vol. iii. p. 112-114-115) in his *Treatise of Honours*. It is worthy from the first book of Hieronymus, to be of Persian origin.

prand, bishop of Cremona,^a asserted the free spirit of a Frank and the dignity of his master Otho. CHAP. LIII.
Yet his sincerity cannot disguise the abasement of the first audience. When he approached the throne, the birds of the golden tree began to warble their notes, which were accompanied by the roarings of the two lions of gold. With his two companions, Listprand was compelled to bow and to fall prostrate; and thrice he touched the ground with his forehead. He arose, but in the short interval, the throne had been hoisted by an engine from the floor to the ceiling, the imperial figure appeared in new and more gorgeous apparel, and the interview was concluded in haughty and majestic silence. In this honest and curious narrative the bishop of Cremona represents the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, which are still practised in the sublime Porte, and which were preserved in the last age by the dukes of Muscovy or Russia. After a long journey by the sea and land, from Venice to Constantinople, the ambassador halted at the golden gate, till he was conducted by the formal officers to the hospitable palace prepared for his reception; but this palace was a prison, and his jealous keepers prohibited all social intercourse either with strangers or natives. At his first audience, he offered the gifts of his master, slaves, and golden vases, and costly armour. The ostentatious payment of the officers and troops displayed before his eyes the riches of

^a The two embassies of Listprand to Constantinople (A.D. 1000) are well attested in the Greek original, and pleasantly described by Kitzsch (*Hist. A. S.*, c. 1-4, p. 443-471. *Legation de Byzantinisme Philom.*, p. 473-482).

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the emperor: he was entertained at a royal banquet,* in which the ambassadors of the nations were marshalled by the esteem or contempt of the Greeks: from his own table, the emperor, as the most signal favour, sent the plates which he had tasted; and his favourites were dismissed with a robe of honour.[†] In the morning and evening of each day, his civil and military servants attended their duty in the palace; their labour was repaid by the sight, perhaps by the smile, of their lord; his commands were signified by a nod or a sign; but all earthly greatness stood silent and submissive in his presence. In his regular or extraordinary processions through the capital, he unveiled his person to the public view; the rites of policy were connected with those of religion, and his visits to the principal churches were regulated by the festivals of the Greek calendar. On the eve of these processions, the gracious or devout intention of the monarch was proclaimed by the heralds. The streets were cleared and purified; the pavement was strowed with flowers; the most precious furniture, the gold and silver plate, and silken hangings, were displayed from the windows and balconies, and a severe discipline restrained and silenced the tumult of the populace. The

Processions
and other
matters.

* Among the amusements of the feast, a boy balanced, on his forehead, a pike, or pole, twenty-four feet long, with a round bar of iron quite a fiddle below the top. Two boys, naked, though circumcised (compare with) together, and single, climbed, rood, played, descended, &c. for the stupendous redoubt: *secret societies* (p. 479). At another sport so brutal of Chrysostom on the *den of the Aspidochelone* was read *claus* (p. 482).

† *Orbe* is not improbably derived from *Orbe*, or *Orbe*, in Arabic, a robe of honour (Beza, *Not. in Cassian.* p. 64).

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march was opened by the military officers at the head of their troops: they were followed in long order by the magistrates and ministers of the civil government: the person of the emperor was guarded by his eunuchs and domestics, and at the church door he was solemnly received by the patriarch and his clergy. The task of applause was not abandoned to the rude and spontaneous voices of the crowd. The most convenient stations were occupied by the bands of the blue and green factions of the circus; and their furious conflicts, which had shaken the capital, were insensibly sunk to an emulation of servitude. From either side they echoed in responsive melody the praises of the emperor; their poets and musicians directed the choir, and long life and victory were the burden of every song. The same acclamations were performed at the audience, the banquet, and the church: and as an evidence of boundless sway, they were repeated in the Latin,* Gothic, Persian, French, and even English language, by the mercenaries who sustained the real or fictitious character of those nations. By the pen of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, this science of form and flattery has been reduced into a pompous and trif-

* *Παρορμητισμός* is explained by *αὐτοκρατορία* (Codin. c. 1, *Domage*, *Gloss. Græc. rom.* l. p. 1496).

† *Εὐαγγελὸς δὲν ἑρμηνεύει ἀγγέλλων* is, *εὐαγγελιστὴς ὁμιλοῦν* *ἑρμηνεύων* is, *πολιτὴς καὶ ὁμοῖον* (Codin. c. 18, p. 716). The word of the Latin is, *docere* the Greeks to employ them; and so they regard themselves. Till he corrected the text *ἑρμηνεύων*, these strange sentences might puzzle a professor.

‡ *Ἐκείνην γὰρ τὴν οὐρανὴν γλῶσσαν οὐκ οἶον ἔχειν* *ἰσχυρὸν ὅτι* *ἡρώδης* (Codin. p. 80). I wish he had preserved the words, without except, of their English translation.

CHAP.
LIII

ling volume,¹ which the vanity of succeeding times might enrich with an ample supplement. Yet the calmer reflection of a prince would surely suggest, that the same acclamations were applied to every character and every reign; and if he had risen from a private rank, he might remember, that his own voice had been the loudest and most eager in applause, at the very moment when he envied the fortune, or conspired against the life, of his predecessor!

Marriage
of the Cæ-
sars with
foreign no-
bles.

The princes of the north of the nation, says Constantine, without faith or larce, were ambitious of mingling their blood with the blood of the Cæsars, by their marriage with a royal virgin, or by the nuptials of their daughters with a Roman prince.* The aged monarch, in his instructions to his son, reveals the secret maxims of policy and pride, and suggests the most decent reasons for refusing these insolent and unreasonable demands. Every animal, says the discreet emperor, is prompted by nature to seek a mate among the animals of his own species; and the human species is divided into various tribes, by

* For all these circumstances, see the poetical story of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with the notes, or rather dissertations, of his German editor, Leach and Rivkin. For the crash of the standing comitia, p. 30, not. 22, 23; for the sedition, except on standards, p. 33, 240, not. 101; the procession, p. 2, &c. not. p. 2, &c.; the acclamations, p. 30, not. 22, &c.; the horses and hippodromes, p. 177-214, not. 2, 22, &c.; the Greek games, p. 221, not. 111; & stage, p. 217, not. 109; must supply information as scattered over the work.

¹ Et prima Othoni super eodem decima nota solatur (Tacit. Hist. l. 64).

² The thirteenth chapter, de Administratione Imperii, may be explained and rectified by the *Paragon Byzantium of Ducange*.

the distinction of language, religion, and manners. CHAP. LIII.
 A just regard to the purity of descent preserves the harmony of public and private life; but the mixture of foreign blood is the fruitful source of disorder and discord. Such had ever been the opinion and practice of the sage Romans: their jurisprudence proscribed the marriage of a citizen and a stranger: in the days of freedom and virtue, a senator would have scorned to match his daughter with a king: the glory of Mark Antony was sullied by an Egyptian wife;* and the emperor Titus was compelled, by popular censure, to dismiss with reluctance the reluctant Berenice.† This perpetual interdict was ratified by the fabulous sanction of the great Constantine. The ambassadors of the nations, more especially of the unbelieving nations, were solemnly admonished, that such strange alliances had been condemned by the founder of the church and city. The irrevocable law was inscribed on the altar of St. Sophia; and the impious prince who should stain the majesty of the purple was excluded from the civil and ecclesiastical communion of the Romans. If the ambassadors were instructed by any false brethren in the Byzantine history, they might produce three

*Imaginary
law of Con-
stantine.*

* *Sepulchrum in Aegyptu expositum* (Virgil, *Zoëd.* vii. 680). Yet this Egyptian wife was the daughter of a long line of kings. Quod in univ. corp. Antony in a private letter to Augustus inquit *regum linea*! Uxor mea est (Sueton. in August. c. 85). Yet I much question the I cannot stay to inquire, whether the African ever dared to celebrate his marriage either with Roman or Egyptian rites.

† *Berenice prima iudeorum Regina* (Strabo in Tib. c. 7). Here I observed above, that this Jewish beauty was at this time above fifty years of age! The fabulous Hæring has most shamefully suppressed both her age and her country.

CHAP.
LIII.The first
exception,
v. n. 733.The second,
v. n. 811.The third,
v. n. 843.

memorable examples of the violation of this imaginary law: the marriage of Leo, or rather of his father Constantine the fourth, with the daughter of the king of the Chozars, the nuptials of the grand-daughter of Romanus with a Bulgarian prince, and the union of Bertha of France or Italy with young Romanus, the son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself. To these objections three answers were prepared, which solved the difficulty and established the law. i. The deed and the guilt of Constantine Copronymus were acknowledged. The Isaurian heretic, who sullied the baptismal font, and declared war against the holy images, had indeed embraced a barbarian wife. By this impious alliance he accomplished the measure of his crimes, and was devoted to the just censure of the church and of posterity. ii. Romanus could not be alleged as a legitimate emperor; he was a plebeian usurper, ignorant of the laws, and regardless of the honour of the monarchy. His son Christopher, the father of the bride, was the third in rank in the college of princes, at once the subject and the accomplice of a rebellious parent. The Bulgarians were sincere and devout christians, and the safety of the empire, with the redemption of many thousand captives, depended on this preposterous alliance. Yet no consideration could dispense from the law of Constantine: the clergy, the senate, and the people, disapproved the conduct of Romanus; and he was reproached, both in his life and death, as the author of the public disaster. iii. For the marriage of his own son with the daughter of Hugo, king of Italy, a more honourable defence is contrived by

the wise Porphyrogenitus, Constantine, the great CHAP.
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.....
and holy, esteemed the fidelity and value of the Franks;^{*} and his prophetic spirit beheld the vision of their future greatness. They alone were excepted from the general prohibition: Hugo, king of France, was the lineal descendant of Charlemagne;[†] and his daughter Bertha inherited the prerogatives of her family and nation. The voice of truth and malice insensibly betrayed the fraud or error of the imperial court. The patrimonial estate of Hugo was reduced from the monarchy of France to the simple county of Arles; though it was not denied, that, in the confusion of the times, he had usurped the sovereignty of Provence, and invaded the kingdom of Italy. His father was a private noble; and if Bertha derived her female descent from the Carolingian line, every step was polluted with illegitimacy or vice. The grandmother of Hugo was the famous Valdrada, the concubine, rather than the wife, of the second Lothair; whose adultery, divorce, and second nuptials, had provoked against him the thunders of the Vatican. His mother, as she was styled, the great Bertha, was successively the wife of the count of Arles and of the marquis of Tuscany: France and Italy were scandalized by her gal-

^{*} Constantine was made to pursue the system and religion of the Franks, with whom he claimed a private and public alliance. The French writers (Jean Capetien in Diction. Polit.) are highly delighted with these compliments.

[†] Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Administrat. Imp. c. 24) publishes a pedigree and list of the illustrious king Hugo (excellentemque principem). A more correct idea may be formed from the Continuation of Paul, the Annals of Hrosvit, and the Abbrégé of St. Meur, &c. c. 642-644.

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lantries; and, till the age of threescore, her lovers, of every degree, were the zealous servants of her ambition. The example of maternal incontinence was copied by the king of Italy; and the three favourite concubines of Hugo were decorated with the classic names of Venus, Juno, and Semele.* The daughter of Venus was granted to the solicitations of the Byzantine court: her name of Bertha was changed to that of Endoxia; and she was wedded, or rather betrothed, to young Romanus, the future heir of the empire of the East. The consummation of this foreign alliance was suspended by the tender age of the two parties; and, at the end of five years, the union was dissolved by the death of the virgin spouse. The second wife of the emperor Romanus was a maiden of plebeian, but of Roman, birth; and their two daughters, Theophano and Anne, were given in marriage to the princes of the earth. The eldest was bestowed, as the pledge of peace, on the eldest son of the great Otho, who had solicited this alliance with arms and embassies. It might legally be questioned how far a Saxon was entitled to the privilege of the French nation; but every scruple was silenced by the fame and piety of a hero who had restored the empire of the West. After the death of her father-in-law and husband, Theophano governed Rome, Italy, and Germany, dur-

Otho of
Germany,
A. D. 974.

* After the mention of the three goddesses, Louproud very naturally adds, *et quodam non vix, sedis de abrogatione, servum aut ex amore ex partem conjugum duxit* (Hist. iv. c. 85): for the marriage of the princess Bertha, see Hist. i. c. 5; for the consummation of the same, *duces exercitus Hymennæi*, &c. ii. c. 13; for the virtues and reign of Hugo, i. iii. c. 2. Yet it must not be forgot that the bishop of Cremona was a lover of scandal.

ing the minority of her son, the third Otho; and the Latins have praised the virtues of an empress, who sacrificed to a superior duty the remembrance of her country.* In the nuptials of her sister Anne, every prejudice was lost, and every consideration of dignity was superseded, by the stranger argument of necessity and fear. A pagan of the north, Wolodomir, great prince of Russia, aspired to a daughter of the Roman purple; and his claim was enforced by the threats of war, the promise of conversion, and the offer of a powerful succour against a domestic rebel. A victim of her religion and country, the Grecian princess was torn from the palace of her fathers, and condemned to a savage reign and an hopeless exile on the banks of the Boryathenes, or in the neighbourhood of the polar circle.¹ Yet the marriage of Anne was fortunate and fruitful: the daughter of her grandson Jeroslaus was recommended by her imperial descent; and the king of France, Henry I. sought a wife on the last borders of Europe and Christendom.²

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Wolodomir
of Russia,
A. D. 988.

* Like the Empress Irene, she is also called Otho, and Othone, &c. in the primitive of an unusual series, apud Pagi, tom. ii. c. 2. 988, No. 3. Her marriage and principal actions may be found in Muratori, Pagi, and St. Mart., under the proper years.

¹ Cosmas, tom. ii. p. 388, Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 421. Eusebius, Hist. Sacramentum, l. iii. c. 8. See also Lycopius, tom. ii. p. 112. Pagi, Critica, c. 2. 987, No. 11. A complete catalogue of Wolodomir and Anne is ranked among the saints of the Russian church. Yet we know his name, and not the name of his victim.

² Russian princess Anne sister of Jeroslaus, Roman. Willm. regis Jeroslaus. An embassy of bishops was sent from Moscow, and the father of the emperor Jeroslaus was made bishop of the Russian church. This event happened in the year 1043. See the passage of the original chronicle in Moscov's Russian

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VIII.Despotic
power.

In the Byzantine palace the emperor was the first slave of the ceremonies which he imposed, of the rigid forms which regulated each word and gesture, he urged him in the palace, and violated the leisure of his rural solitude. But the lives and fortunes of millions hung on his arbitrary will, and the firmest minds, superior to the allurement of pomp and luxury, may be seduced by the more active pleasure of commanding their equals. The legislative and executive power were centered in the person of the monarch, and the last remains of the authority of the senate were finally eradicated by Leo the philosopher.* A lethargy of servitude had benumbed the minds of the Greeks; in the wildest tumults of rebellion they never aspired to the idea of a free constitution; and the private character of the prince was the only source and measure of their public happiness. Superstition rivetted their chains; in the church of St. Sophia he was solemnly crowned by the patriarch; at the foot of the altar, they pledged their passive and unconditional obedience to his government and family. On his side he engaged to abstain as much as possible from the capital punishments of death and mutilation: his orthodox creed was subscribed with his own hand, and he promised to obey the decrees of the seven synods, and the

Coronation
rite.

Histories of France, tome xi. p. 25, 228, 231, 232, 234, 235. Voltaire might wonder at this alliance; but he should not have forgot his ignorance of the country, religion, &c. of Germany and Rome in comparison to the Roman empire.

* A constitution of Leo the philosopher (LXVIII) is preserved in the acts of the first, second, and third synods of the empire, &c. &c. in the year 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

capons of the holy church.¹ But the assurance of mercy was loose and indefinite; he swore, not to his people, but to an invisible judge, and except in the inexplorable guilt of heresy, the ministers of heaven were always prepared to preach the indefeasible right, and to absolve the venial transgressions, of their sovereign. The Greek ecclesiastics were themselves the subjects of the civil magistrate; at the nod of a tyrant the bishops were created, or transferred, or deposed, or punished with an ignominious death: whatever might be their wealth or influence, they could never succeed like the Latin clergy in the establishment of an independent republic; and the patriarch of Constantinople condemned, what he secretly envied, the temporal greatness of his Roman brother. Yet the exercise of boundless despotism is happily checked by the laws of nature and necessity. In proportion to his wisdom and virtue, the master of an empire is confined to the path of his sacred and laborious duty. In proportion to his vice and folly, he drops the sceptre too weighty for his hands; and the motions of the royal image are ruled by the imperceptible thread of some minister or favourite, who undertakes for his private interest to execute the task of the public oppression. In some fatal moment, the most absolute monarch may dread the reason or the caprice of a nation of slaves; and experience has proved, that

¹ Gualtero (*de Officiis*, c. xxi), p. 180, 181, gives an idea of this oath as sworn to the church under the name of John, and the emperor as witness, in which to the people no attention was paid, as a separate yet religious power seems to have been.

CHAP. whatever is gained in the extent, is lost in the
LIII. safety and solidity, of regal power.

Military
force of the
Greeks, the
Saracens,
and the
Franks.
Whatever titles a despot may assume, whatever
claims he may assert, it is on the sword that he
must ultimately depend to guard him against
his foreign and domestic enemies. From the
age of Charlemagne to that of the crusades, the
world (for I overlook the remote monarchy of
China) was occupied and disputed by the three
great empires or nations of the Greeks, the Sa-
racens, and the Franks. Their military strength
may be ascertained by a comparison of their cou-
rage, their arts and riches, and their obedience
to a supreme head, who might call into action
all the energies of the state. The Greeks, far
inferior to their rivals in the first, were superior
to the Franks, and at least equal to the Saracens,
in the second and third of these warlike quali-
fications.

History of the
Greeks. The wealth of the Greeks enabled them to pur-
chase the service of the poorer nations, and to main-
tain a naval power for the protection of their
coasts and the annoyance of their enemies.* A
commerce of mutual benefit exchanged the gold
of Constantinople for the blood of the Sclavonians
and Turks, the Bulgarians and Russians: their
valour contributed to the victories of Nicephorus

* If we listen to the threats of Nicephorus to the ambassador of
Olives, Nec est in mari dominus tas claudens neminem. Navigantium
fortitudo nihil nisi metus, qui cum standum aggrederis, bello certamine
ejus civitatis dominus, et quos dominus non vicinis odium in so-
cietatem. (Interpres in Legat. ad Nicephorum Phocam, in Muratori
Scriptores Rerum Italianarum, tom. 9, pars 1, p. 482.) His observatio in
another place, qui cunctis potentibus Venetici sunt at Anaphanici.

and Zimisces; and if an hostile people pressed too closely on the frontier, they were recalled to the defence of their country, and the desire of peace, by the well-managed attack of a more distant tribe.² The command of the Mediterranean, from the mouth of the Tamis to the columns of Hercules, was always claimed, and often possessed, by the successors of Constantine. Their capital was filled with naval stores and dexterous artificers; the situation of Greece and Asia, the long coasts, deep gulphs, and numerous islands, accustomed their subjects to the exercise of navigation; and the trade of Venice and Amalfi supplied a nursery of seamen to the imperial fleet.³ Since the time of the Peloponnesian and Punic wars, the sphere of action had not been enlarged; and the science of naval architecture appears to have declined. The art of constructing those stupendous machines which displayed three, or six, or ten, ranges of oars, rising above, or falling behind, each other, was unknown to the ship-builders of Constantinople, as well as to the mechanicians of modern days.⁴ The *Dro-*

² *Non ipse capite erat (the emperor) sed in quo ceteris ad pugnam et bellum salutis: parantibusque possessionibus omnibus instituta sunt inviasiones: et quod necessarium confingentes illustrant in Legat. p. 187.* The two heads, as administrators imperii, perpetually pursued the same policy.

³ The sixth chapter of the *Tactica* of Leo (Maur. Opera. tom. vi. p. 315-342), which is given more correct from a manuscript of Gouda, by the laborious Fabricius (Bibl. Græc. tom. vi. p. 372-379), relates to the *Nausocla* or men of war.

⁴ Even of fifteen or sixteen rows of oars, in the navy of Demetrius Poliorcetes. There were five rows: the forty rows of Ptolemy Philadelphus were applied to a floating palace, where tonnage, according to Strabo.

mones,* or light gallees of the Byzantine empire were content with two tier of oars; each tier was composed of five and twenty benches; and two rowers were seated on each bench, who plyed their oars on either side of the vessel. To these we must add the captain or centurion, who, in time of action, stood erect with his armour-bearer on the poop, two steermans at the helm, and two officers at the prow, the one to manage the anchor, the other to point and play against the enemy the tube of liquid fire. The whole crew, as in the infancy of the art, performed the double service of mariners and soldiers: they were provided with defensive and offensive arms, with bows and arrows, which they used from the upper deck, with long pikes, which they pushed through the port-holes of the lower tier. Sometimes indeed the ships of war were of a larger and more solid construction; and the labours of combat and navigation were more regularly divided between seventy soldiers and two hundred and thirty mariners. But for the most part they were of the light and manageable size; and as the cape of Malea in Peloponnesus was still clothed with its ancient terrors, an imperial fleet was transported five miles over land across the isthmus of Co-

Arthurium (Tables of ancient Coins, &c. p. 234), is composed of 41 to 500, with an English 100 gold-shilling.

* The Decemones of Lat. Ann. are as clearly described with the use of oars, than I think occurs the version of Mennius and Fabricius, who pervert the sense by a blind attachment to the phrase application of *Triremes*. The Byzantine historians are sometimes guilty of the same inaccuracy.

rioth? The principles of maritime tactics had not undergone any change since the time of Thucydides; a squadron of galleies still advanced in a crescent, charged to the front, and strove to impel their sharp beaks against the feeble sides of their antagonists. A machine for casting stones and darts was built of strong timbers in the midst of the deck: and the operation of boarding was effected by a crane that hoisted baskets of armed men. The language of signals, so clear and copious in the naval grammar of the moderns, was imperfectly expressed by the various positions and colours of a commanding flag. In the darkness of the night the same orders to chase, to attack, to halt, to retreat, to break, to form, were conveyed by the lights of the leading galley. By land, the fire-signals were repeated from one mountain to another; a chain of eight stations commanded a space of five hundred miles: and Constantinople in a few hours was apprized of the hostile motions of the Sarmians of Taurus.* Some estimate may be formed of the power of

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* Constantine Porphyrogenes in *Vita Basil.* c. lxi. p. 325. He seems to prefer the stratagem of a *systeme de feux* and signals; but the sailing round Palæstina is described by his brother Isaurus as a circumlocution of a thousand miles.

† The continuation of Theophrastus (l. ii. p. 173, 174) names the mountainæ ætiores, the castle of Liliæum, Tarsus, mount Argæus, Læmus, Agilus, the hill of Marmas, Cyrene Mountain, the hill of Antiochia, the summit of the Phœnix at the great desert. He affirms, that the army were communicated a message, at an indefinite moment of time. Mæcenas's application, which, by saying the march, says nothing. How could these incidents and interventions would have been the double time of day, of sex, or twelve hours?

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the Greek emperors, by the curious and minute detail of the armament which was prepared for the reduction of Crete. A fleet of one hundred and twelve galleies and seventy-five vessels of the Pamphylian style, was equipped in the capital, the islands of the *Ægean* sea, and the sea-ports of Asia, Macedonia, and Greece. It carried thirty-four thousand mariners, seven thousand three hundred and forty soldiers, seven hundred Russians, and five thousand and eighty-seven Mardaites, whose fathers had been transplanted from the mountains of Libanus. Their pay, most probably of a month, was computed at thirty-four centenaries of gold, about one hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds sterling. Our fancy is bewildered by the endless recapitulation of arms and engines, of clothes and linen, of bread for the men and forage for the horses, and of stores and utensils of every description, inadequate to the conquest of a petty island, but amply sufficient for the establishment of a flourishing colony.*

Tactics and
character of
the Greeks.

The invention of the Greek fire did not, like that of gunpowder, produce a total revolution in the art of war. To these liquid combustibles the city and empire of Constantinople owed their deliverance; and they were employed in sieges and sea-fights with terrible effect. But they were

* See the *Commentaire de Constantin Porphyrogénète*, l. ii. c. 24, p. 176-182. A critical reader will discern some dissimilitudes in different parts of this account; but they are not more blunders or mere mistakes than the establishment and officers, the prices and fit for duty, the rank and file and the pretence, of a modern army, which remain in proper sense the knowledge of those profane physicians.

either less improved, or less susceptible of improvements: the engines of antiquity, the catapultæ, balistæ, and battering-rams, were still of most frequent and powerful use in the attack and defence of fortifications; nor was the decision of battles reduced to the quick and heavy fire of a line of infantry, whom it were fruitless to protect with armour against a similar fire of their enemies. Steel and iron were still the common instruments of destruction and safety; and the helmets, cuirasses, and shields, of the tenth century did not, either in form or substance, essentially differ from those which had covered the companions of Alexander or Achilles.^a But instead of accustoming the modern Greeks, like the legionaries of old, to the constant and easy use of this salutary weight, their armour was laid aside in light chariots, which followed the march, till on the approach of an enemy they resumed with haste and reluctance the unusual encumbrance. Their offensive weapons consisted of swords, battle-axes, and spears; but the Macedonian pike was shortened a fourth of its length, and reduced to the more convenient measure of twelve cubits or feet. The sharpness of the Scythian and Arabian arrows had been severely felt; and the emperors lament the decay of archery as a cause of the public misfortunes, and recommend, as an advice, and a command, that the military youth, till the age of forty, should assiduously practise the exercise of

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^a See the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, *sup. vol. iv.* *sup. vol. v.* and *sup. paper*, in the *Tactics of Leo*, with the corresponding passages in those of Constantine.

CHAP. the bow.¹ The *bande*, or regiments, were usu-
 LIII. ally three hundred strong; and, as a medium
 between the extremes of four and sixteen, the
 foot-soldiers of Leo and Constantine were formed
 eight deep; but the cavalry charged in four ranks,
 from the reasonable consideration, that the weight
 of the front could not be increased by any pres-
 sure of the hindmost horses. If the ranks of the
 infantry and cavalry were sometimes doubled, this
 cautious array betrayed a secret distrust of the
 courage of the troops, whose numbers might swell
 the appearance of the line, but of whom only a
 chosen band would dare to encounter the spears
 and swords of the barbarians. The order of bat-
 tle must have varied according to the ground, the
 object, and the adversary; but their ordinary dis-
 position, in two lines and a reserve, presented a
 succession of hopes and resources most agreeable
 to the temper as well as the judgment of the
 Greeks.² In case of a repulse, the first line
 fell back into the intervals of the second; and
 the reserve, breaking into two divisions, wheeled
 round the flanks to improve the victory or cover
 the retreat. Whatever authority could enact was
 accomplished, at least in theory, by the camps
 and marches, the exercises and evolutions, the

¹ They deserve the just reward, mentioned elsewhere . . . as was
 known to every soldier speaking Greek. *Idem*, *Tactica*, p. 261.
Constitution, p. 1214. Yet such was not the manner of the Greeks
 and Romans, who despised the bow and distant practice of archery.

² Compare the passages of the *Tactica*, p. 162 and 171, and the
 still with the Polish chapter.

edicts and books, of the Byzantine monarch.¹ Whatever art could produce from the forge, the loom, or the laboratory, was abundantly supplied by the riches of the prince, and the industry of his numerous workmen. But neither authority nor art could frame the most important machine, the soldier himself; and if the ceremonies of Constantinople always suppose the safe and triumphal return of the emperor,² his *tactics* seldom soar above the means of escaping a defeat, and procrastinating the war.³ Notwithstanding some transient success, the Greeks were sunk in their own esteem and that of their neighbours. A cold hand and a loquacious tongue was the vulgar description of the nation: the author of the *tactics* was besieged in his capital; and the last of the Saracens or Franks, could proudly exhibit the medals of gold and silver which they had extorted from the feeble sovereign of Constantinople. What spirit their government and character

¹ In the preface to the *Tactics*, Leo very freely deigned the name of *Strategos* and the substance of the name, and repeats, without scruple (*Tactics*, p. 321), the reputation of *scelus, malitia, avaritia, superbia*. As we thus observe that the same centuries were less devoted to the exact sciences by the disciples of Constantine.

² See to the *Commentaries* de Leo, c. 19, p. 223; the term of the emperor's triumphing, on the death of the captive Saracens, while the singers chanted "thus, thus much, my enemies are humbled!" and the people shouted fifty times the *kyrie eleison*.

³ Leo *de usu* (*Tactics*, p. 668) thus a full year before agreed any useful whatsoever, in respect to navigation, the water art, and the reason is true: yet if such had been the opinion of the old Romans, Leo had never resigned on the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus.

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.....

denied, might have been inspired in some degree by the influence of religion; but the religion of the Greeks could only teach them to suffer and to yield. The emperor Nicephorus, who restored for a moment the discipline and glory of the Roman name, was desirous of bestowing the honours of martyrdom on the christians, who lost their lives in an holy war against the infidels. But this political law was defeated by the opposition of the patriarch, the bishops, and the principal senators; and they strenuously urged the canons of St. Basil, that all who were polluted by the bloody trade of a soldier, should be separated, during three years, from the communion of the faithful.*

Character
and tactics
of the Saracens.

These scruples of the Greeks have been compared with the tears of the primitive moderns when they were held back from battle; and this contrast of base superstition, and high-spirited enthusiasm, unfolds to a philosophic eye the history of the rival nations. The subjects of the last caliphs^b had undoubtedly degenerated from the zeal and faith of the companions of the prophet. Yet their martial creed still represented

* Xenæus (Hist. li. p. 151, p. 202, 203) and Cedrenus (Compend. p. 266), who relate the design of Nicephorus, most enthusiastically apply the epithet of *tyrant* to the opposition of the patriarch.

^b The twelfth chapter of the *ta'rik* of the *disfayed* nations, is the most historical and useful of the whole collection of Leo. The names and acts of the Saracens (Vartan. p. 302, 317, and a fragment from the *Mashûk* &c.) in the progress of the 5th volume of Hearnshaw the Russian historian was too frequently called upon to supply.

the deity as the author of war : the vital though latent spark of fanaticism still glowed in the heart of their religion, and among the Saracens who dwelt on the christian borders, it was frequently rekindled to a lively and active flame. Their regular force was formed of the valiant slaves who had been educated to guard the person, and accompany the standard of their lord ; but the mussulman people of Syria and Cilicia, of Africa and Spain, was awakened by the trumpet which proclaimed a holy war against the infidels. The rich were ambitious of death or victory in the cause of God ; the poor were assured by the hopes of plunder ; and the old, the infirm, and the women, assumed their share of meritorious service, by sending their substitutes, with arms and horses, into the field. These offensive and defensive arms were similar in strength and temper to those of the Romans, whom they far excelled in the management of the horse and the bow ; the massy silver of their belts, their bridles, and their swords, displayed the magnificence of a prosperous nation, and except some black archers of the South, the Arabs disdained the naked bravery of their ancestors. Instead of waggons, they were attended by a long train of camels, mules, and asses ; the multitude of these animals, whom they bedecked with flags and streamers, appeared to swell the pomp and magnitude of their host ; and the horses of the enemy were

[illegible]

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often disordered by the uncouth figure and odious smell of the camels of the East. Invincible by their patience of thirst and heat, their spirits were frozen by a winter's cold; and the consciousness of their propensity to sleep exacted the most rigorous precautions against the surprises of the night. Their order of battle was a long square of two deep and solid lines; the first of archers, the second of cavalry. In their engagements by sea and land, they sustained with patient firmness the fury of the attack, and seldom advanced to the charge till they could discern and oppress the lassitude of their foes. But if they were repulsed and broken, they knew not how to rally or renew the combat; and their dismay was heightened by the superstitious prejudice, that God had declared himself on the side of their enemies. The decline and fall of the caliphs countenanced this fearful opinion; nor were there wanting, among the mahometans and christians, some obscure prophecies which prognosticated their alternate defeats. The unity of the Arabian empire was dissolved, but the independent fragments were equal to populous and powerful kingdoms; and in their naval and military armaments, an emir of Aleppo or Tunis might command no despicable fund of skill, and industry, and treasure. In their transactions of peace and war

* *Dispersed* (p. 484, 485) *causes and supports the reader of the Greek and Roman*; in which, after the fashion of prophecy, the past is clear and historical; the future is dark, unperpetual, and uncertain. From the boundary of light and shade, an impartial critic may commonly determine the date, & the composition.

with the Saracens, the princes of Constantinople too often felt that these barbarians had nothing barbarous in their discipline; and that, if they were destitute of original genius, they had been endowed with a quick spirit of curiosity and imitation. The model was indeed more perfect than the copy: their ships, and engines, and fortifications, were of a less skilful construction; and they confess, without shame, that the same God who has given a tongue to the Arabians, had more nicely fashioned the hands of the Chinese, and the heads of the Greeks.*

A name of some German tribes between the Rhine and the Weser had spread its victorious influence over the greatest part of Gaul, Germany, and Italy; and the common appellation of *Franker*[†] was applied by the Greeks and Arabians to the christians of the Latin church, the nations of the West, who stretched beyond their knowledge to the shores of the Atlantic ocean. The vast body had been inspired and united by the soul of Charlemagne; but the division and degeneracy of his race soon annihilated the imperial power, which would have rivalled the Cæsars of Byzantium, and revenged the indignities

* The sense of this distinction is expressed by Alphonse (Dymer, p. 2, 92, 101), but I cannot recollect the passage in which it is conveyed by this French author.

† In French, *que nous appelons Latins*; *que les Français appellent Latins habitans* (I inserted in Lloyd, an Hist. Normannie, p. 432, 444). This extension of the name may be understood from Constantine the Africanus (Imperat. l. 2, c. 37, 38) and Eusebius (Annal. 1063, p. 34, 46), who both lived before the crusades. The testimony of Alphonse (Dymer, p. 48) 444 Alphonse (Traité de Géogr.) is more recent.

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of the christian name. The enemies no longer feared, nor could the subjects any longer trust, the application of a public revenue, the labours of trade and manufactures in the military service, the mutual aid of provinces and armies, and the naval squadrons which were regularly stationed from the mouth of the Elbe to that of the Tyber. In the beginning of the tenth century, the family of Charlemagne had almost disappeared; his monarchy was broken into many hostile and independent states; the regal title was assumed by the most ambitious chiefs; their revolt was imitated in a long subordination of anarchy and discord, and the nobles of every province disobeyed their sovereign, oppressed their vassals, and exercised perpetual hostilities against their equals and neighbours. Their private wars, which returned the fabric of government, fomented the martial spirit of the nation. In the system of modern Europe, the power of the sword is possessed, at least in fact, by five or six mighty potentates; their operations are conducted on a distant frontier, by an order of men who devote their lives to the study and practice of the military art; the rest of the country and community enjoys in the midst of war the tranquillity of peace, and is only made sensible of the change by the aggravation or decrease of the public taxes. In the disorders of the tenth and eleventh centuries, every peasant was a soldier, and every village a fortification; each wood or valley was a scene of murder and rapine; and the lords of each castle were compelled to assume the character of princes and warriors.

To their own courage and policy, they boldly trusted for the safety of their family, the protection of their lands, and the revenge of their injuries; and, like the conquerors of a larger size, they were too apt to transgress the privilege of defensive war. The powers of the mind and body were hardened by the presence of danger and necessity of resolution: the same spirit refused to desert a friend and to forgive an enemy; and, instead of sleeping under the guardian care of the magistrate, they proudly disdained the authority of the laws. In the days of feudal anarchy, the instruments of agriculture and art were converted into the weapons of bloodshed: the peaceful occupations of civil and ecclesiastical society were abolished or corrupted; and the bishop who exchanged his mitre for an helmet, was more forcibly urged by the manners of the times than by the obligation of his tenure."

The love of freedom and of arms was felt, with their characteristic and lasting pride, by the Franks themselves, and is observed by the Greeks with some degree of amazement and terror. "The Franks," says the emperor Constantine, "are bold and valiant to the verge of temerity; and their dauntless spirit is supported by the contempt of danger and death. In the field and in close onset, they press to the front, and rush headlong against the enemy,

* On this subject of sacerdotal and secular war disputes, (see Thuanus, *Hist. lib. 4. c. 1. 2. 30. 41. 42. 43.*) may be readily remarked. A general law of Charlemagne exempted the bishops from personal service; but the opposite practice, which prevailed from the sixth to the eleventh century, is demonstrated by the example of *clergy of arms and doctors*. . . . You justify your nomination by the holy council, says Rodericus of Verulam; the council I know of held just in France, and yet—

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" without deigning to compute either his numbers
 " or their own. Their ranks are formed by the
 " firm connections of consanguinity and friend-
 " ship; and their martial deeds are prompted by
 " the desire of saving or revenging their dearest
 " companions. In their eyes, a retreat is a
 " shameful flight; and flight is indelible in-
 " famy." A nation endowed with such high
 and intrepid spirit, must have been secure of vic-
 tory, if these advantages had not been counter-
 balanced by many weighty defects. The decay of
 their naval power left the Greeks and Saracens
 in possession of the sea, for every purpose of an-
 noyance and supply. In the age which preceded
 the institution of knighthood, the Franks were
 rude and unskilful in the service of cavalry; * and
 in all perilous emergencies, their warriors were so
 conscious of their ignorance, that they chose to dis-
 mount from their horses and fight on foot. Unprac-
 tised in the use of pikes, or of missile weapons, they
 were encumbered by the length of their swords, the
 weight of their armour, the magnitude of their
 shields, and, if I may repeat the satire of the meagre
 Greeks, by their unwieldy intemperance. Their
 independent spirit disdained the yoke of subordi-
 nation, and abandoned the standard of their chief,
 if he attempted to keep the field beyond the term

* In the ninth chapter of his *Tarikh*, the emperor Louis has fairly stated the military virtues and vices of the Franks (= born Nicéphore Chitendani) transmitted by God and the Lombards, or Langobards. See likewise the *xviii*th Dissertation of M. de la Harpe, *Antiquités de l'Italie* tome ii. 351.

† Desiderii fulgentissimi viri, ac potentissimi principis equitum insignis po-
 dentisque pugne virtutis. equitum magnitudo, brevitas gravitudo,
 scutum longitudo, puerorumque puerorum natiis parvis puerorum
 pueris: ac subditiis, impedit, inquit, ac non guerratorum hoc non ven-
 tis longitudo, &c. Luitprand in Legat. p. 489, 491.

of their stipulation or service. On all sides they were open to the snare of an enemy, less brave, but more artful, than themselves. They might be bribed, for the barbarians were venal; or surprised in the night, for they neglected the precautions of a close encampment or vigilant centinels. The fatigues of a summer's campaign exhausted their strength and patience, and they sunk in despair if their voracious appetite was disappointed of a plentiful supply of wine and of food. This general character of the Franks was marked with some national and local shades, which I should ascribe to accident, rather than to climate, but which were visible both to natives and to foreigners. An ambassador of the great Otho declared, in the palace of Constantinople, that the Saxons could dispute with swords better than with pens; and that they preferred inevitable death to the dishonour of turning their backs to an enemy.* It was the glory of the nobles of France, that, in their humble dwellings, war and rapine were the only pleasure, the sole occupation, of their lives. They affected to deride the palaces, the banquets, the polished manners, of the Italians, who, in the estimate of the Greeks themselves, had degenerated from the liberty and valour of the ancient Lombards.*

* In Saxoniae regio . . . descensus enim pagorum quatuordecim, et totius territorii ultra quatuordecim longis dabo fluctuans, p. 107.

¹ Example from an *Aspidoptera* type shows the value of the "12" in an *Aspidoptera* vs. what the numbers appear to indicate. (Source: *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, 19, p. 101. The copyright law of the U. S. A. 1909.)

successors, Constant the second, to abandon the Thracian Bosphorus, and to restore the pristine honours of the Tyber: an extravagant project (exclaims the malicious Byzantine), as if he had despoiled a beautiful and blooming virgin, to enrich, or rather to expose, the deformity of a wrinkled and decrepid matron.* But the sword of the Lombards opposed his settlement in Italy: he entered Rome, not as a conqueror, but as a fugitive, and, after a visit of twelve days, he sallied, and for ever deserted, the ancient capital of the world.[†] The final revolt and separation of Italy was accomplished about two centuries after the conquests of Justinian, and from his reign we may date the gradual oblivion of the Latin tongue. That legislator had composed his institutes, his code, and his pandects, in a language which he celebrates as the proper and public style of the Roman government, the consecrated idiom of the palace and senate of Constantinople, of the camps and tribunals of the East.[‡] But this foreign

* *Constantinus Magnus populumque Urbis domum in solachia traxit*.

Ex urbe non solum non recessit, sed

Ex urbe egredi nonnulli exierunt, dum

His non abesse, sed a-miserabilem

Ex urbe non recessit, sed a-miserabilem

and it is censured by Theophrastus, Zonaras, Cedrenus, and the *Historia Miscellanea* (which is indeed a more copious source) — *l. xii.*, p. 157, in tom. i. pars. i. of the *Scriptores Hist. Ital. et Mediiævi*.

† Paul. Diac. *l. v. c. ii.*, p. 453. *Anastasia in Urbe Positum*, in *Musei Collection*, tom. iii. pars. i. p. 147.

‡ Consult the preface of *Diogenes* (ed. Glos. Germ. vol. ii.), and the *Novels of Basilides* (xii. 133). The Greek language was now the Latin was various in dialect, especially in the western empire, the system of government.

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dialect was unknown to the people and soldiers of the Asiatic provinces, it was imperfectly understood by the greater part of the interpreters of the laws and the ministers of the state. After a short conflict, nature and habit prevailed over the obsolete institutions of human power: for the general benefit of his subjects, Justinian promulgated his novels in the two languages: the several parts of his voluminous jurisprudence were successively translated: the original was forgotten, the version was studied, and the Greek, whose intrinsic merit deserved indeed the preference, obtained a legal as well as popular establishment in the Byzantine monarchy. The birth and residence of succeeding princes estranged them from the Roman idiom: Tiberius by the Arabs,^e and Maurice by the Italians,^f are distinguished as the first of the Greek Cæsars, as the founders of a new

^e On the title was written *ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες* in the year 528. The names *novels* or *laws* were afterwards *ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες* (Math. Bessarion, Hist. Juris, apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. III. p. 309). The *Code* and *Novels* (the latter by Theodorus) were translated in the time of Justinian (p. 356, 360). Theophilus, son of the original translator, has left an elegant, though diffuse, paraphrase of the Institutes. On the other hand, *Justinian's Institutes of Constantinople* (a. d. 529), 122, *Novellæ Græcæ eleganti Latineque summi* (Heineccius, Hist. J. R. p. 326), for the use of Italy and Asia.

^f *Antiochensis* assigns the title *Augustus* to the Franks as Romans, the 8th to the Goths, the 10th to the Arabs. A temple Augusti Cæsaris donat Imperatori Tiberius Cæsar spatio christi concessit 600 *laureis Imperatoris* C. P. Parisiæ, in *synodus pars sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, cunctisq. archiepiscopis et populo, contra Græcos locutus*. *Constituta regnum christianis* *Græcorum* *factum* *est* (p. 36, tom. Poeschl). The christian and veridical studies of Antiochensis give him some advantage over the more ignorant Madan.

^g *Principes et Græcorum* *grecis* in *Imperio* *ordinatio* *est*; *et* *accor-*
ding *to* *another* *ed.* *of* *Paulus* *Diacorus* *G.* *iii.* *c.* *13.* *p.* *443.* *18*
Græcorum *Imperio*.

dynasty and empire : the silent revolution was accomplished before the death of Heraclius ; and the ruins of the Latin speech were darkly preserved in the terms of jurisprudence and the acclamations of the palace. After the restoration of the Western empire by Charlemagne and the Otobos, the names of Franks and Latins acquired an equal signification and extent ; and these haughty barbarians asserted, with some justice, their superior claim to the language and dominion of Rome. They insulted the aliens of the East who had renounced the dress and idiom of Romans ; and their reasonable practice will justify the frequent appellation of Greeks.¹ But this contemptuous appellation was indignantly rejected by the prince and people to whom it is applied. Whatsoever changes had been introduced by the lapse of ages, they alleged a lineal and unbroken succession from Augustus and Constantine ; and, in the lowest period of degeneracy and decay, the name of *Romans* adhered to the last fragments of the empire of Constantinople.²

The Greek emperors and their subjects retain and assert the name of Romans.

¹ Quid linguam, mores, totaque ritibus, privata Sanctissimus Paganus ridiculus truxq., Ita vos (vobis) supplex Romanorum nomen. His nuptiis, regibus Hierophantibus Imperatorem Grecorum, ut cum istius Imperatoris Romanorum antistitem foret (Dispersed in Legislation, p. 456).

² By Laonicus Chalcocomytes, who survived the last days of Constantinople, the account is thus stated (l. i. p. 2) : Constantine transported his Latin of Italy to a Greek city of Thracia : they adopted the language and manners of the natives, who were confounded with them under the name of Romans. The kings of Constantinople, says the historian, ut et ipse ante rectoris suorum fuerit et ad imperatorem assumptus, illorum in similitudinem sequebatur.

tempt of letters has disgraced the princes of the Heraclian and Isaurian dynasties.*

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In the ninth century, we trace the first dawnings of the restoration of sciences.* After the fanaticism of the Arabs had subsided, the caliphs aspired to conquer the arts, rather than the provinces, of the empire: their liberal curiosity rekindled the emulation of the Greeks, brushed away the dust from their ancient libraries, and taught them to know and reward the philosophers, whose labours had been hitherto repaid by the pleasure of study and the pursuit of truth. The Cæsar Bardas, the uncle of Michael the third, was the generous protector of letters, a title which alone has preserved his memory and excused his ambition. A particle of the treasures of his nephew was sometimes diverted from the indulgence of vice and folly: a school was opened in the palace of Magnanum; and the presence of Bardas excited the emulation of the masters and students. At their head was the philosopher Leo, archbishop of Thessalonica: his profound skill in astronomy and the mathematics was admired by the strangers of the East: and this occult science was magnified by vulgar credulity, which modestly supposes that all knowledge superior to its own must be the effect of inspiration

* The story of Zonaras, the story was words of Cedrenus, are strong words, perhaps not ill-suited to these times.

* See Zonaras (l. vii. p. 160, 161), and Cedrenus ep. 342. 357. Like Peter Bairen, the philosopher Leo has been transformed by historians into a saint: a poet has undoubtedly, if he be the author of the *Armenia* story, similarly ascribed to the virtues of the same man. The physical Leo is to be seen in the library of Vienna (*Philosophus*, Bibl. Hist. Græc. tom. vi. p. 326, tom. xii. p. 721). *Quæstus* I.

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or magic. At the pressing entreaty of the Cæsar, his friend, the celebrated Photius,² renounced the freedom of a secular and studious life, ascended the patriarchal throne, and was alternately excommunicated and absolved by the synods of the East and West. By the confession even of priestly hatred, no art or science, except poetry, was foreign to this universal scholar, who was deep in thought, indefatigable in reading, and eloquent in diction. Whilst he exercised the office of *protospathaire*, or captain of the guards, Photius was sent ambassador to the caliph of Bagdad.³ The tedious hours of exile, perhaps of confinement, were beguiled by the hasty composition of his *library*, a living monument of erudition and criticism. Two hundred and four score writers, historians, orators, philosophers, theologians, are reviewed without any regular method; he abridges their narrative or doctrine, appreciates their style and character, and judges even the fathers of the church with a discreet freedom, which often breaks through the superstition of the times. The emperor Basil, who lamented the defects of his own education, entrusted to the care of Photius his son and successor

² The ecclesiastical and literary character of Photius is copiously described by Hæcklin (*de Scripserunt Byzant.* p. 229-236) and Fabricius.

³ He *Armenien* can only mean Bagdad, the seat of the caliph; and the creation of his embassy might have been curious and instructive. But how did he prepare his books? A library so numerous could seldom be found at Bagdad, nor transported with his baggage, nor preserved in his treasury. Yet the fact, however incredible, seems to be attested by Photius himself, *see above* § *poes. Ives.* Comm. (Hist. Critique des Journaux, p. 87-88) gives a good account of the *Stylabulum*.

Leo the philosopher; and the reign of that prince and of his son Constantine Porphyrogenitus forms one of the most prosperous eras of the Byzantine literature. By their munificence the treasures of antiquity were deposited in the imperial library; by their pen, or those of their associates, they were imparted in such extracts and abridgments as might amuse the curiosity, without oppressing the indolence, of the public. Besides the *Basilics*, or code of laws, the arts of husbandry and war, of feeding or destroying the human species, were propagated with equal diligence; and the history of Greece and Rome was digested into fifty-three heads or titles, of which two only (of embassies, and of virtues and vices) have escaped the injuries of time. In every station, the reader might contemplate the image of the past world, apply the lesson or warning of each page, and learn to admire, perhaps to imitate, the examples of a brighter period. I shall not expatiate on the works of the Byzantine Greeks, who, by the assiduous study of the ancients, have deserved in some measure the remembrance and gratitude of the moderns. The scholars of the present age may still enjoy the benefit of the philosophical common-place book of Stobæus, the grammatical and historical lexicon of Suidas, the *Chiliads* of Tzetzes, which comprise six hundred narratives in twelve thousand verses, and the commentaries on Homer of Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, who, from his horn of plenty has poured the names and authorities of four hundred writers. From these originals, and

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from the numerous tribe of scholiasts and critics,¹ some estimate may be formed of the literary wealth of the twelfth century: Constantinople was enlightened by the genius of Homer and Demosthenes, of Aristotle and Plato; and in the enjoyment or neglect of our present riches, we must envy the generation that could still peruse the history of Theopompus, the orations of Hyperides; the comedies of Menander;² and the odes of Alcæus and Sappho. The frequent labour of illustration attests not only the existence but the popularity of the Grecian classics: the general knowledge of the age may be deduced from the example of two learned females, the empress Eudocia, and the princess Anna Comnena, who cultivated, in the purple, the arts of rhetoric and philosophy.³

¹ Of these modern Greeks see the respective articles in the *Bibliothèque Grecque* of Valartius: a laborious work, yet invaluable of a better method and more improvements; of Kusterius (tom. i. p. 220-491, 508-529); of the Poell is directed at Leo Allatius, ad *calamitatem* (tom. ii); of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (tom. ii. p. 356-359); of John Stobæus (tom. i. p. 663-773); of Nicetas (tom. ii. p. 370-377); John Tzetzes, (tom. iii. p. 714-723). Mr. Hays, in his *Philological Arrangements*, upon which, see *glossæ* of the Byzantine learning, pp. 465-500.

² From ancient and literary evidence. Gerard Vossius (*de Poetis Græcis* c. 8, not to their antiquity; *Classica*, tom. xii. p. 284) mentions a commentary of Michael Poellus on twenty-four plays of Menander, still extant in 14 at Constantinople. Yet such classical studies were incompatible with the gravity or dulness of a schoolman who pored over the *comædiæ* (de Poetis, p. 47) and Michael has probably been confounded with Hieronymus Solon, who was a commentator of the comedies of Menander. In the sixth century Isidorus quotes fifty plays, but he often transcribes the old scholiast of Actæonanthus.

³ Anna Comnena may boast of her Greek style (in *αἰγιόχοις* or *αἰγιόχοις*), and Zonaras, her contemporary, but not her

The vulgar dialect of the city was gross and barbarous: a more correct and elaborate style distinguished the discourse, or at least the compositions, of the church and palace, which sometimes affected to copy the purity of the Attic models.

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In our modern education, the painful though necessary attainment of two languages, which are no longer living, may consume the time and damp the ardour of the youthful student. The poets and orators were long imprisoned in the barbarous dialects of our western ancestors, devoid of harmony or grace: and their genius, without precept or example, was abandoned to the rude and native powers of their judgment and fancy. But the Greeks of Constantinople, after purging away the impurities of their vulgar speech, acquired the free use of their ancient language, the most happy composition of human art, and a familiar knowledge of the sublime masters who had pleased or instructed the first of nations. But these advantages only tend to aggravate the reproach and shame of a degenerate people. They held in their lifeless hands the riches of their fathers, without inheriting the spirit which had created and improved that sacred patrimony: they read, they praised, they compiled, but their languid souls seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the hap-

Drury of
taste and
genius.

Scholarship, may well wish to see, passing from ancient to modern. The sciences were conversant with the social dialogues of Plato; and had retained the essence, or pureness of geometry, grammar, astronomy, and music then her portion in the Alcoran, with Democritus's words.

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pinions of mankind. Not a single idea has been added to the speculative systems of antiquity, and a succession of patient disciples became in their turn the dogmatic teachers of the next servile generation. Not a single composition of history, philosophy, or literature, has been saved from oblivion by the intrinsic beauties of style or sentiment, of original fancy, or even of successful imitation. In prose the least offensive of the Byzantine writers are absolved from censure by their naked and unpretending simplicity; but the orators, most eloquent in their own conceit, are the farthest removed from the models whom they affect to emulate. In every page our taste and reason are wounded by the choice of gigantic and obsolete words, a stiff and intricate phraseology, the discord of images, the childish play of false or unreasonable ornament, and the painful attempt to elevate themselves, to astonish the reader, and to involve a trivial meaning in the smoke of obscurity and exaggeration. Their prose is soaring to the vicious affectation of poetry: their poetry is sinking below the flatness and insipidity of prose. The tragic, epic, and lyric muses, were silent and inglorious: the bards of Constantinople seldom rose above a riddle or epigram, a panegyric or tale; they forgot even the rules of prosody; and with the melody of Homer yet sounding in their ears, they confound all measure of feet and syllables in the impotent strains which have received the name

* To correct the Byzantine taste, Boetius (Prefat. *Illic. Græc.* p. 47) strings the author with Andria Cellina, Isidorus Perminus, George Hæmæstius, Leontius; who begin at once the precept and the example.

of *political* or *city virtues*.¹ The minds of the Greeks were bound in the fetters of a base and imperious superstition, which extends her dominion round the circle of profane science. Their understandings were bewitched in metaphysical controversy: in the belief of visions and miracles, they had lost all principles of moral evidence, and their taste was vitiated by the homilies of the monks, an absurd medley of declamation and scripture. Even these contemptible studies were no longer dignified by the abuse of superior talents: the leaders of the Greek church were humbly content to admire and copy the oracles of antiquity, nor did the schools or pulpit produce any rivals of the fame of Athanasius and Chrysostom.²

In all the pursuits of active and speculative life, the emulation of states and individuals is the most powerful spring of the efforts and improvements of mankind. The cities of ancient Greece were cast in the happy mixture of union and independence, which is repeated on a larger scale, but in a looser form, by the nations of modern Europe: the union of language, religion, and manners, which renders them the spectators and judges of each other's merit: the independence of government and interest, which asserts

Want of
national
emulation.

¹ The *virtus politica*, these common provisions, &c. from their collection they are called by Len Albius, usually consist of three or four. They are used by Commentarius Maximus, John Varro, &c. (Dionysius, *Antiq. Latine*, tom. II., p. 6, p. 343, 346, edit. Basil. 1732).

² See St. Bernard of the Nation, or St. John Damascenus in the eighth century, is revered as the last father of the Greek church.

³ Humble Energy, vol. I., p. 123.

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their separate freedom, and excites them to strive for pre-eminence in the career of glory. The situation of the Romans was less favourable; yet in the early ages of the republic, which fixed the national character, a similar emulation was kindled among the states of Latium and Italy; and, in the arts and sciences, they aspired to equal or surpass their Grecian masters. The empire of the Cæsars undoubtedly checked the activity and progress of the human mind; its magnitude might indeed allow some scope for domestic competition; but when it was gradually reduced, at first to the East, and at last to Greece and Constantinople, the Byzantine subjects were degraded to an sbject and languid temper, the natural effect of their solitary and insulated state. From the North they were oppressed by nameless tribes of barbarians, to whom they scarcely imparted the appellation of men. The language and religion of the more polished Arabs were an unsurmountable bar to all social intercourse. The conquerors of Europe were their brethren in the christian faith; but the speech of the Franks or Latins was unknown, their manners were rude, and they were rarely connected, in peace or war, with the successors of Hercules. Alone in the universe, the self-satisfied pride of the Greeks was not disturbed by the comparison of foreign merit; and it is no wonder if they faintcd in the race, since they had neither competitors to urge their speed, nor judges to crown their victory. The nations of Europe and Asia were mingled

by the expeditions to the Holy Land; and it is CHAP.
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under the Comnenian dynasty that a salutary emu-
lation of knowledge and military virtue was re-
kindled in the Byzantine empire.

CHAP. LIV.

Origin and doctrine of the Paulinæ—Their persecution by the Greek emperors—Revolt in Armenia, &c.—Transplantation into Thrace—Propagation in the West—The sects, character, and consequences of the reformation.

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*Supposed separation
of the
Greek
church.*

IN the profession of christianity, the variety of national characters may be clearly distinguished. The natives of Syria and Egypt abandoned their lives to lazy and contemplative devotion: Rome again aspired to the dominion of the world; and the wit of the lively and loquacious Greeks was consumed in the disputes of metaphysical theology. The incomprehensible mysteries of the trinity and incarnation, instead of commanding their silent submission, were agitated in vehement and subtle controversies, which enlarged their faith at the expence perhaps of their clarity and reason. From the council of Nice to the end of the seventh century, the peace and unity of the church was invaded by these spiritual wars; and so deeply did they affect the decline and fall of the empire, that the historian has too often been compelled to attend the synods, to explore the creeds, and to enumerate the sects, of this busy period of ecclesiastical annals. From the beginning of the eighth century to the last ages of the Byzantine empire, the sound of controversy was seldom heard: curiosity was exhausted, zeal was

fatigued, and, in the decrees of six councils, the articles of the catholic faith had been irrevocably defined. The spirit of dispute, however vain and pernicious, requires some energy and exercise of the mental faculties; and the prostrate Greeks were content to fast, to pray, and to believe, in blind obedience to the patriarch and his clergy. During a long dream of superstition, the virgin and the saints, their visions and miracles, their relics and images, were preached by the monks and worshipped by the people; and the appellation of people might be extended without injustice to the first ranks of civil society. At an unsensible moment, the Isaurian emperors attempted somewhat rudely to awaken their subjects: under their influence, reason might obtain some proselytes, a far greater number was swayed by interest or fear; but the Eastern world embraced or deplored their visible deities, and the restoration of images was celebrated as the feast of orthodoxy. In this passive and unanimous state the ecclesiastical rulers were relieved from the toll, or deprived of the pleasure, of persecution. The pagans had disappeared; the Jews were silent and obscure; the disputes with the Latins were rare and remote hostilities against a national enemy; and the sects of Egypt and Syria enjoyed a free toleration, under the shadow of the Arabian caliphs. About the middle of the seventh century, a branch of manichæans was selected as the victims of spiritual tyranny: their patience was at length exasperated to despair and rebellion; and their exile has sown over the West the seeds of reformation.

CHAP. LIV. These important events will justify some enquiry into the doctrine and story of the *pontificatus*;* and, as they cannot plead for themselves, our candid criticism will magnify the good, and abate or suspect the evil, that is reported by their adversaries.

Origin of
the pauli-
cians or
disciples of
St. Paul,
A. D. 660,
A. D.

The gnostics, who had distracted the infancy, were oppressed by the greatness and authority, of the church. Instead of emulating or surpassing the wealth, learning, and numbers of the catholics, their obscure remnant was driven from the capitals of the East and West, and confined to the villages and mountains along the borders of the Euphrates. Some vestige of the marcionites may be detected in the fifth century;^a but the numerous sects were finally lost in the odious name of the manichæans; and these heretics, who presumed to reconcile the doctrines of Zoroaster and Christ, were pursued by the two religions with equal and unrelenting hatred. Under the grandson of Heraclius, in the neighbourhood of Samosatha, more famous for the

* The errors and variety of the pontificatus are weighed, with the most judicious and candid, by the learned Mosheim (Hist. Eccles. ant. modern. 10, p. 311, A. D.). He draws his original intelligence from Photius (contra Manichæos, l. ii) and Peter Siculus (Hist. Manichæorum). The last of these accounts has not fallen into my hands; the second, which Mosheim professes, I have read in a Latin version inserted in the Maximæ Bibliothecæ Patrum (tom. xii, p. 134-134), from the edition of the Jesuit Baderus (Ingolstadt, 1604, in 4to).

^a In the time of Theodosius, the disease of Gnosticism in Syria, extended eight hundred villages. Of these, two were inhabited by armenians and eunuchians, and eight by manichæans, whom the laborious bishop removed to the catholic church (Dopsch, Biblioth. Ecclesiæ. Aug., tom. ii, p. 81, 82).

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birth of Lucian than for the title of a Syrian kingdom, a reformer arose, esteemed by the *paulicians* as the chosen messenger of truth. In his humble dwelling of Mananalis, Constantine entertained a deacon, who returned from Syrian captivity, and received the inestimable gift of the new testament, which was already concealed from the vulgar by the prudence of the Greek, and perhaps of the gnostic, clergy.* These books became the measure of his studies and the rule of his faith; and the catholics, who dispute his interpretation, acknowledged that his text was genuine and sincere. But he attached himself with peculiar devotion to the writings and character of St. Paul. The name of the paulicians is derived by their enemies from some unknown and domestic teacher; but I am confident that they gloried in their affinity to the apostle of the gentiles. His disciples, Titus, Timothy, Sylvanus, Tychicus, were represented by Constantine and his fellow-labourers: the names of the apostolic churches were applied to the congregations which they assembled in Armenia and Cappadocia; and this innocent allegory revived the example and memory of the first ages. In the gospel, and the e-
Their
Bible.

pistles of St. Paul, his faithful follower investigated the creed of primitive christianity; and, whatever might be the success, a protestant reader will applaud the spirit of the enquiry. But if the scriptures of the paulicians were pure, they were

* While Constantine was (says Eusebius) before him, and was already a Christian, was the first disciple of a catholic whom he was advised to read the bible (Petr. Sicul. p. 161).

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not perfect. Their founders rejected the two epistles of St. Peter,^a the apostle of the circumcision, whose dispute with their favourite for the observance of the law could not easily be forgiven.^b They agreed with their gnostic brethren in the universal contempt for the old testament, the books of Moses and the prophets, which have been consecrated by the decrees of the catholic church. With equal boldness, and doubtless with more reason, Constantine, the new Sylvanus, disclaimed the visions, which, in so many bulky and splendid volumes, had been published by the Oriental sects;^c the fabulous productions of the Hebrew patriarchs and the sages of the East; the spurious gospels, epistles, and acts, which, in the first age, had overwhelmed the orthodox code; the theology of Manes, and the authors of the kindred heresies; and the thirty generations or æons, which had been created by the fruitful

^a In rejecting the second epistle of St. Peter, the polemics are justified by some of the reasons, given by the ancient and modern *Wetstein* and *de Saur*, Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament, c. 11. They likewise overbore the Apocryphal Peter. *Wetstein* p. 100; but as such neglect is not supposed to remove the Gnostic of the south every mind will have been conscious of the truth and beauty of the Revelations.

^b This contention, which has not escaped the notice of Porphyrus, supposed some were had, passed on to one or both of the apostles. By Chrysostom, Jerome, and Erasmus, it is represented as a vain quarrel, a piece of bad, for the benefit of the gnostics and the correction of the Jews (*Middleton's Works*, vol. 1, p. 1276).

^c Those who are curious of this literature library, may consult the remains of *Spinoza* (*Phil. Specimen de Mathematicis*, tom. 1, p. 233-237). Even in *Adam*, St. A. could describe the Manichean books, but would, you guess, have pointed out the *Book of the Law*, 14:1 but he adds, without any, however, names that number; and the whole has been rigorously followed.

fancy of Valentine. The paulicians sincerely
condemned the memory and opinions of the ma-
nichæan sect, and complained of the injustice
which impressed that invidious name on the simple
votaries of St. Paul and of Christ.

Of the ecclesiastical chain, many links had
been broken by the paulician reformers; and
their liberty was enlarged, as they reduced the
number of masters, at whose voice profane reason
must bow to mystery and miracle. The early se-
paration of the gnostics had preceded the estab-
lishment of the catholic worship; and against
the gradual innovations of discipline and doc-
trine, they were as strongly guarded by habit
and aversion, as by the silence of St. Paul and the
evangelists. The objects which had been trans-
formed by the magic of superstition, appeared to
the eyes of the paulicians in their genuine and
naked colours. An image made without hands,
was the common workmanship of a mortal artist,
in whose skill alone the wood and canvass must
be indebted for their merit or value. The mira-
culous relics were an heap of bones and ashes,
destitute of life or virtue, or of any relation,
perhaps, with the person to whom they were
ascribed. The true and vivifying cross was a
piece of sound or rotten timber: the body and
blood of Christ, a loaf of bread and a cup of wine,
the gifts of nature and the symbols of grace.
The mother of God was degraded from her
celestial honours and immaculate virginity: and
the saints and angels were no longer solicited
to exercise the laborious office, of mediation in

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The sim-
plicity of
their belief
and doc-
trine.

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They hold
the two
principles
of the evan-
gelium and
transmission-
200.

heaven, and ministry upon earth. In the practice, or at least in the theory, of the sacraments, the paulicians were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship, and the words of the gospel were, in their judgment, the baptism and communion of the faithful. They indulged a convenient latitude for the interpretation of scripture: and as often as they were pressed by the literal sense, they could escape to the intricate mazes of figure and allegory. Their utmost diligence must have been employed to dissolve the connexion between the old and the new testament; since they adored the latter as the oracles of God, and abhorred the former, as the fabulous and absurd invention of men or demons. We cannot be surprised, that they should have found in the gospel, the orthodox mystery of the trinity: but instead of confessing the human nature and substantial sufferings of Christ, they amused their fancy with a celestial body that passed through the virgin like water through a pipe: with a phantastic crucifixion, that eluded the vain and impotent malice of the Jews. A creed thus simple and spiritual was not adapted to the genius of the times: and the rational christian who might have been contented with the light yoke and easy burthen of Jesus and his apostles, was justly offended, that the paulicians should dare to violate the unity of God, the first article of natural and revealed religion. Their belief and their trust was in the Father, of Christ, of

* The six capital errors of the paulicians are defined by Gregory of Nyssa (p. 144) with much prejudice and passion.

the human soul, and of the invisible world. But they likewise held the eternity of matter; a stubborn and rebellious substance, the origin of a second principle, of an active being, who has created this visible world, and exercises his temporal reign till the final consummation of death and sin.² The appearance of moral and physical evil had established the two principles in the ancient philosophy and religion of the East; from whence this doctrine was transfused to the various swarms of the gnostics. A thousand shades may be devised in the nature and character of *Ahriman*, from a rival god to a subordinate daemon, from passion and frailty to pure and perfect malevolence; but, in spite of our efforts, the goodness and the power of Ormuzd are placed at the opposite extremities of the line; and every step that approaches the one must recede in equal proportion from the other.³

The apostolic labours of Constantine-Sylvanus soon multiplied the number of his disciples, the secret recompence of spiritual ambition. The remnant of the gnostic sects, and especially the manufacturers of Armenia, were united under his standard; many catholics were converted or seduced by his arguments; and he preached

The establishment of the gnostics in Armenia, *see* Ptolemy, &c.

² *Primum illorum verbum est, duo erunt duo principia: Deus scilicet et Mater secundum aliquos. Alii dicunt principia duo esse, et illius (sunt) duo* (Pier. Nov. p. 140).

³ Two learned critics, Boussette (*Hist. Collige de Manichisme*, 2, 4, 5, 6, and Michaux (Constant. Hist. France) and de Ribes (*Christianisme antichristianisme*, vol. 1, 11, 113), have laboured to replace and direct into the various systems of the gnostics in the subject of the two principles.

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with success in the regions of Pontus^a and Cappadocia, which had long since imbibed the religion of Zoroaster. The paulician teachers were distinguished only by their scriptural names, by the modest title of fellow-pilgrims, by the austerity of their lives, their zeal or knowledge, and the credit of some extraordinary gifts of the holy spirit. But they were incapable of desiring, or at least of obtaining, the wealth and honours of the catholic prelacy. Such anti-christian pride they bitterly censured; and even the rank of elders or presbyters was condemned as an institution of the Jewish synagogue. The new sect was loosely spread over the provinces of Asia Minor to the westward of the Euphrates; six of their principal congregations represented the churches to which St. Paul had addressed his epistles; and their founder chose his residence in the neighbourhood of Colonia^b, in the same district of Pontus which had been celebrated by the altars of Bellona^c and the miracles of

^a The countries between the Euphrates and the Tigris were possessed above 250 years by the Medes (Herodotus, l. i. c. 102) and Persians; and the kings of Pontus were of the royal race of the Arctamides (Strabo, Fragment, l. iii, with the French supplement in some copies of the president de Bréquigny).

^b Most probably founded by Pompey after the conquest of Pontus. This Colonia, on the Lycus above Nicaea, is named by the Turks *Çelebişehir*, or *Chosar*, a populous town in a strong country (d'Anville *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 24. — Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, tom. ii. lettre 124, p. 187).

^c The temple of Bellona at Colonia, in Pontus, was a powerful and wealthy congregation; and the high priest was respected as the second person in the kingdom. As the sacerdotal office had been occupied by his mother's brother, Strabo (l. xiv. p. 658, 659, 660, 661) doubts

with

Gregory.^a After a mission of twenty-seven years, CHAP.
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Sylvanus, who had retired from the tolerating government of the Arabs, fell a sacrifice to Roman persecution. The laws of the pious Persecution
of the Greek
emperors emperors, which seldom touched the lives of hereticks, proscribed without mercy or disguise the tenets, the books, and the persons of the mountanists and manichæans: the books were delivered to the flames; and all who should presume to secrete such writings, or to profess such opinions, were devoted to an ignominious death.^b A Greek minister, armed with legal and military powers, appeared at Colonia to strike the shepherd, and to reclaim, if possible, the lost sheep. By a refinement of cruelty, Simeon placed the unfortunate Sylvanus before a line of his disciples, who were commanded, as the price of their pardon and the proof of their repentance, to massacre their spiritual father. They turned aside from the impious office; the stones dropt from their fill'd hands, and of the whole number, only one executioner could be found, a new David,

with perfect complacency on the temple, the worship, and festival which was twice celebrated every year. But the Religion of Pontus had the features and character of the goddess, not of war, but of love.

^a Gregory, bishop of Nica-Cæsarea (a. c. 243-258), successor Theodoretus, or the Wonder-worker. An hundred years afterwards, the history or romance of his life was composed by Gregory of Nyssa, his emissary and countryman, the disciple of the great St. Basil.

^b Hoc cæterum ad nos ægrepta sacibrosa, disclat sequæ orthodoxæ. Disparum addiderunt, ut Manichæum Mœtansque capitali pœnæ obnoxii juliamus, cœterisque illæon, quæcumque in nos invecti essent, sacris tractis quod signis usque eosdem cœtusque deprehenderunt, hinc eosdem sacris pœnæ pœnæ, quæcumque in nos invecti essent (Petr. Sicily. 749). What more could bigotry and persecution do?

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as he is styled by the catholics, who boldly overthrew the giant of heresy. This apostate, Justin was his name, again deceived and betrayed his unsuspecting brethren, and a new conformity to the acts of St. Paul may be found in the conversion of Simeon: like the apostle, he embraced the doctrine which he had been sent to persecute, renounced his honours and fortunes, and acquired among the paulicians the fame of a missionary and a martyr. They were not ambitious of martyrdom: but in a calamitous period of one hundred and fifty years, their patience sustained whatever zeal could inflict; and power was insufficient to eradicate the obstinate vegetation of fanaticism and reason. From the bloodland ashes of the first victims, a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose: amidst their foreign hostilities, they found leisure for domestic quarrels: they preached, they disputed, they suffered; and the virtues, the apparent virtues, of Sergius, in a pilgrimage of thirty-three years, are reluctantly confessed by the orthodox historians.¹ The native cruelty of Justinian the second was stimulated by a pious cause; and he vainly hoped to extinguish, in a single conflagration,

¹ It doubtless that the paulicians allowed themselves some latitude of equivoque and mental reservation, till the emperor did overrule the pressing question, which related them to the blasphemy of apostasy or martyrdom (Petr. Esch. p. 227).

² The persecution is told by Patmos Bishop (p. 570-705) with sedition and passion. Justin, with permission, Simeon was not even hit even the proclamation of the two heretics. Justin had been nearly the same, a great while that directed the martyrs who were sent him for an island. See Justinian's Confession (p. 432-434).

gration the name and memory of the paulicians. By their primitive simplicity, their abhorrence of popular superstition, the iconoclast princes might have been reconciled to some erroneous doctrines; but they themselves were exposed to the calumnies of the monks, and they chose to be the tyrants, lest they should be accused as the accomplices of the manichæans. Such a reproach has sullied the clemency of Nicephorus, who relaxed in their favour the severity of the penal statutes; nor will his character sustain the honour of a more liberal motive. The feeble Michael the first, the rigid Leo the Armenian, were foremost in the race of persecution; but the prize must doubtless be adjudged to the sanguinary devotion of Theodora, who restored the images to the Oriental church. Her inquisitors explored the cities and mountains of the lesser Asia, and the flatterers of the empress have affirmed that, in a short reign, one hundred thousand paulicians were extirpated by the sword, the gibbet, or the flames. Her guilt or merit has perhaps been stretched beyond the measure of truth; but if the account be allowed, it must be presumed that many simple iconoclasts were punished under a more odious name, and that some who were driven from the church, unwillingly took refuge in the bosom of heresy.

The most furious and desperate of rebels are the sectaries of a religion long persecuted, and at length provoked. In an holy cause they are no longer susceptible of fear or remorse: the justice of their arms burdens them against the feelings of

Remot of
the pauli-
cians.
L. 2. c. 20.

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They for-
sake
Tephrike.

humanity; and they revenge their fathers' wrongs, on the children of their tyrants. Such have been the hussites of Bohemia and the calvinists of France; and such, in the ninth century, were the paulicians of Armenia and the adjacent provinces.* They were first awakened to the massacre of a governor and bishop, who exercised the imperial mandate of converting or destroying the heretics; and the deepest recesses of mount Argæus protected their independence and revenge. A more dangerous and consuming flame was kindled by the persecution of Theodora, and the revolt of Carbeas, a valiant paulician, who commanded the guards of the general of the East. His father had been impaled by the catholic inquisitors; and religion, or at least nature, might justify his desertion and revenge. Five thousand of his brethren were united by the same motives; they renounced the allegiance of anti-christian Rome; a Saracen emir introduced Carbeas to the caliph; and the commander of the faithful extended his sceptre to the implacable enemy of the Greeks. In the mountain between Sewas and Trebizond he founded or fortified the city of Tephrike,† which is still occupied by a fierce and licentious people, and the neighbouring hills were covered with the paulician fugitives.

* Petrus Blesensis (p. 763, 764), the countenance of Theophrastus (l. vi. c. 4, p. 103, 104), Constantinus (p. 545, 546, 547), and General Guizot (l. i. vol. p. 136), describe the revolt and exploits of Carbeas and his party.

† Oster (Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, tom. ii) is probably the only Frank who has visited the independent barbarism of Tephrike, near Trebizond, from whom he fortunately escaped in the train of a Turkish officer.

who now receded to the rear on the hills, and the sword. During more than thirty years, Asia was afflicted by the calamities of foreign and domestic war: in their hostile incursions the disciples of St. Paul were joined with those of Mahomet; and the peaceful christians, the aged parent and tender virgin, who were delivered into barbarous servitude, might justly accuse the intolerant spirit of their sovereign. So urgent was the mischief, so intolerable the shame, that even the dissolute Michael, the son of Theodora, was compelled to march in person against the paulicians: he was defeated under the walls of Samosata; and the Roman emperor fled before the heretics whom his mother had condemned to the flames. The Saracens fought under the same banners, but the victory was ascribed to Carbers; and the captive generals, with more than an hundred tribunes, were either released by his avarice, or tortured by his fanaticism. The valour and ambition of Chrysochorus, his successor, embraced a wider circle of rapine and revenge. In alliance with his faithful muslims, he boldly penetrated into the heart of Asia; the troops of the frontier and the palace were repeatedly overthrown; the edicts of persecution were answered by the pillage of Nice and Nicomedia, of Ancyra and Ephesus; not could the apostle St. John protect from violation his city and sepulchre. The cathedral

HAR-
VER.and the
Asia
Minor.

* In the library of Chrysochorus, Constantine Chron. p. 37-40, with Vossius has exposed the imposture of the empire. Constantine Porphyrogenitus the VII. Recl. l. 31-33, p. 164-171 has displayed the glory of his grandfather. Gibbon (l. 370-375) is without their assistance or their knowledge.

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of Ephesus

of Ephesus was turned into a stable for mules and horses; and the paulicians vied with the Saracens in their contempt and abhorrence of images and relics. It is not displeasing to observe the triumph of rebellion over the same despotism which has disdained the prayers of an injured people. The emperor Basil, the Macedonian, was reduced to sue for peace, to offer a ransom for the captives, and to request, in the language of moderation and charity, that Chrysosther would spare his fellow-christians, and content himself with a royal demutative of gold and silver and silk garments. "If the emperor," replied the insolent fanatic, "be desirous of peace, let him abdicate the East, and reign without molestation in the West. If he refuse, the servants of the Lord will precipitate him from the throne." The reluctant Basil suspended the treaty, accepted the defiance, and led his army into the land of heresy, which he wasted with fire and sword. The open country of the paulicians was exposed to the same calamities which they had inflicted; but when he had explored the strength of Tephrike, the multitude of the barbarians, and the ample magazines of arms and provisions, he desisted with a sigh from the hopeless siege. On his return to Constantinople he laboured, by the foundation of convents and churches, to secure the aid of his celestial patrons, of Michael the archangel and the prophet Elijah; and it was his daily prayer that he might live to trans pierce, with three arrows, the head of his impious adversary. Beyond his expectations, the wish was accomplished:

after a successful inroad, Chrysocheir was surprised and slain in his retreat: and the rebel's head was triumphantly presented at the foot of the throne. On the reception of this welcome trophy, Basil instantly called for his bow, discharged three arrows with unerring aim, and accepted the applause of the court, who hailed the victory of the royal archer. With Chrysocheir, the glory of the paulicians faded and withered;* on the second expedition of the emperor, the impregnable Tephrike was deserted by the heretics, who sued for mercy or escaped to the borders. The city was ruined, but the spirit of independence survived in the mountains; the paulicians defended, above a century, their religion and liberty, infested the Roman limits, and maintained their perpetual alliance with the enemies of the empire and the gospel.

About the middle of the eighth century, Constantine, surnamed Copronymus by the worshippers of images, had made an expedition into Armenia, and found, in the cities of Melitene and Theodosiopolis, a great number of paulicians, his kindred heretics. As a favour or punishment, he transplanted them from the banks of the Euphrates to Constantinople and Thrace; and by this emigration their doctrine was introduced and diffused in Europe.† If the sectaries of the

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Their decline.

Their transplantation from Armenia to Thrace.

* *Ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐκείνη τοῦ Τεφρὸς πόλις.* How elegant is the Greek image, even in the mouth of Constantine!

† Copronymus transplanted his *εὐνοῖαν*, *ἡμεῖς* (and this *εὐνοῖα* is a *ἡμεῖς*), *ἡμεῖς* *ἡμεῖς* *ἡμεῖς* (q. 403), who has copied the mouth of Theophanes.

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metropolis were some mingled with the promiscuous mass, those of the country struck a deep root in a foreign soil. The paulicians of Thrace resisted the storms of persecution, maintained a secret correspondence with their Armenian brethren, and gave aid and comfort to their preachers, who solicited, not without success, the infant faith of the Bulgarians.* In the tenth century, they were restored and multiplied by a more powerful colony, which John Zimisce† transported from the Chalybian hills to the valleys of Mount Plemus. The oriental clergy, who would have preferred the destruction, impatiently sighed for the absence of the manichæans: the warlike emperor had felt and esteemed their valour: their attachment to the Saracens was pregnant with mischief; but, on the side of the Danube, against the barbarians of Scythia, their service might be useful, and their loss would be desirable. Their exile in a distant land was softened by a free toleration: the paulicians held the city of Philippopolis and the keys of Thrace: the catholics were their subjects: the jacobite emigrants their associates: they occupied a line of villages and castles in Macedonia and Epirus; and many native Bulgarians were associated to the communion of arms and heresy.

* Petrus Borsari, who resided nine months at Tephlica (A. n. 910, for the capture) (cf. caption (p. 154), was informed of their intended mission, and advised his presbyters, the Hinceri Manichæorum, to the sole assistance of the Bulgarians (p. 154).

† The colony of jacobites and jacobites transported by John Zimisce (A. n. 1010) from Armenia to Thrac. is mentioned by Zonaras (Cent. II, lxxvi, p. 295) and Anna Comnena (Alexad., l. xiv, p. 455, Rody,

As long as they were ruled by power and treated with moderation, their voluntary lands were distinguished in the armies of the empire; and the courage of these dogs, ever greedy of war, ever thirsty of human blood, is noticed with astonishment, and almost with reproach, by the pusillanimous Greeks. The same spirit rendered them arrogant and contumacious: they were easily provoked by caprice or injury; and their privileges were often violated by the faithless bigotry of the government and clergy. In the midst of the Norman war, two thousand five hundred manichæans deserted the standard of Alexius Comnenus,* and retired to their native homes. He dissembled till the moment of revenge; invited the chiefs to a friendly conference; and punished the innocent and guilty by imprisonment, confiscation, and baptism. In an interval of peace, the emperor undertook the pious office of reconciling them to the church and state: his winter-quarters were fixed at Philippopolis; and the thirteenth apostle, as he is styled by his pious daughter, consumed whole days and nights in theological controversy. His arguments were fortified, their obstinacy was melted, by the honors and rewards which he bestowed on the most eminent proselytes; and a new city, surrounded with gardens, enriched with fountains, and dignified with his own

* The *Alphabet of Anna Comnena* (l. v. p. 131, l. vi. p. 144, 145, l. vii. p. 149, 151), with the assistance of George) compares the persecutions of his apostle, father with the manichæans, whose Abbot, he says she was desirous of refusing.

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name, was founded by Alexius, for the residence of his vulgar converts. The important station of Philippopolis was wrested from their hands; the contumacious leaders were secured in a dungeon, or banished from their country; and their lives were spared by the prudence, rather than the mercy, of an emperor, at whose command a poor and solitary heretic was burnt alive before the church of St. Sophia.^b But the proud hope of eradicating the prejudices of a nation was speedily overturned by the invincible zeal of the paulicians, who ceased to dissemble or refused to obey. After the departure and death of Alexius, they soon resumed their civil and religious laws. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, their pope or primate (a manifest corruption) resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed, by his vicars, the filial congregations of Italy and France.^c From that era, a minute scrutiny might prolong and perpetuate the chain of tradition. At the end of the last age, the sect or colony still inhabited the vallies of mount Hæmus, where their ignorance and poverty were more frequently tormented by the Greek clergy than by the Turkish government. The modern paulicians have lost all memory of their origin;

^b Basil, a monk, and the author of the legends, a sort of gospel, who soon vanished (*Anna Comnena, Alexiad.* l. iv. p. 466-464.) *Mabillon, Hist. Ecclesiastica*, p. 470.

^c *Max. Paris, Hist. Major*, p. 207. This passage of our English historian is alleged by Ducange in an excellent note on Villehardouin (*Nº. 268*), who found the paulicians at Philippopolis the friends of the Bulgarians.

and their religion is disgraced by the worship of CHAP.
the cross, and the practice of bloody sacrifice, LIV.
which some captives have imported from the
wilds of Tartary.⁴

In the West, the first teachers of the mani-There is a
substantive
less Italy
and France.
chæan theology had been repulsed by the people,
or suppressed by the prince. The favour and
success of the paulicians in the eleventh and
twelfth centuries, must be imputed to the strong,
though secret, discontent which armed the most
pious christians against the church of Rome.
Her avarice was oppressive, her despotism odious:
less degenerate perhaps than the Greeks in
the worship of saints and images, her innovations
were more rapid and scandalous: she had rigor-
ously defined and imposed the doctrine of trans-
substantiation: the lives of the Latin clergy
were more corrupt, and the Eastern bishops
might pass for the successors of the apostles, if
they were compared with the lordly prelates, who
wielded by turns the crosier, the sceptre, and
the sword. Three different roads might intro-
duce the paulicians into the heart of Europe.
After the conversion of Hungary, the pilgrims
who visited Jerusalem might safely follow the
course of the Danube: in their journey and re-
turn they passed through Philippopolis: and the
sectaries, disguising their name and heresy, might
accompany the French or German caravans to
their respective countries. The trade and domi-
nion of Venice pervaded the coast of the Adriatic,
and the hospitable republic opened her bosom to

⁴ See Marsigli, *Stato Militare dell' Impero Ottomano*, p. 24.

CHAPTER
LIX

foreigners of every climate and religion. Under the Byzantine standard, the paulicians were often transported to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily; in peace and war they freely conversed with strangers and natives, and their opinions were silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps.* It was soon discovered, that many thousand catholics of every rank, and of either sex, had embraced the manichæan heresy; and the flames which consumed twelve synods at Orleans, was the first actual signal of persecution. The Bulgarians, a name so innocent in its origin, so odious in its application, spread their branches over the face of Europe. United in common hatred of idolatry, and Rome, they were connected by a form of episcopal and presbyterian government; their various sects were discriminated by some fainter or darker shades of theology; but they generally agreed in the two principles, the contempt of the old testament, and

* The introduction of the parasite into Italy and France, is simply discussed by Maurizio Arago, *Les Verses mouches*, Paris, 1832, in. p. 21-121, and 26-28, 30-31, 32-33, 41-42. We have here translated a passage from it. William the apostate, who clearly deserves this, is a trait, between the Greeks and Normans, p. 1410 et 1411, vol. 2. Burton (*ibid.* loc. cit. p. 126).

1. *Contra* la mala administración de la justicia, que es una de las causas más comunes de la corrupción.

Mark has a good deal of this doctrine as to make them a kind of

¹ *Harpori*, *Harpori*, however, a national appellation, has been applied by the French to a large number of provinces and nations of America. The *Patate*, or *Harpori*, has been made indistinctly a smooth and hollow vegetable, such as French *Patate*, of the original and pleasant French language (from *Harpori*, small or round &c.). The Mandarins were however named *Harpori*, or the pear, by Europeans, *Harpori*, &c.

the denial of the body of Christ, either on the cross or in the eucharist. A confession of simple worship and blameless manners is extorted from their enemies: and so high was their standard of perfection, that the increasing congregations were divided into two classes of disciples, of those who practised, and of those who aspired. It was in the country of the albigens, in the southern provinces of France, that the paulicians were most deeply implanted; and the same vicissitudes of martyrdom and revenge which had been displayed in the neighbourhood of the Ephraïtes, were repeated in the thirteenth century on the banks of the Rhone. The laws of the Eastern emperors were revived by Frederic the second. The insurgents of Tephrike were represented by the barons and cities of Languedoc: Pope Innocent III. surpassed the sanguinary fame of Theodora. It was in cruelty alone that her soldiers could equal the heroes of the crusades, and the cruelty of her priests was far excelled by the fanatics of the inquisition; an office more adapted to confirm, than to refute, the belief of an evil principle. The visible assemblies of the paulicians, or albi-

CHAP.
117.

Persecution of the
albigens,
A. D.
1100, &c.

* Of the laws, rewards, and punishments against the albigens, a just, though partial idea, is expressed by Machiavel (p. 477-487). The details may be found in the historical documents, ancient and modern, ecclesiastical and profane; and amongst these Papey is the most impartial and moderate.

* The *Ann. Litt. de l'Inquisition*, of the impulsion of Thomas (A. D. 1205-1221), were here published by L'abbé L'Amalric, 1800, with a previous history of the Inquisition in general. They deserved a more happy and intelligent editor. As we must not calumniate even fields, in the State Office, I will observe, that of a list of 10000 vols which this library has procured, only eleven vols had been seen were delivered to the regular ann.

CHAP.
LIV.

genis, were extirpated by fire and sword ; and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or catholic conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the Western world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St Paul ; who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the gnostic theology. The struggles of Wickliff in England, of Huss in Bohemia, were premature and ineffectual ; but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin, are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations.

Character
and consequences
of the reformation.

A philosopher, who calculates the degree of their merit and the value of their reformation, will prudently ask from what articles of faith, *above or against* our reason, they have enfranchised the christians ; for such enfranchisement is doubtless a benefit so far as it may be compatible with truth and piety. After a fair discussion we shall rather be surprised by the timidity, than scandalized by the freedom, of our first reformers.¹ With the Jews, they adopted the belief and defence of all the Hebrew scriptures, with all their prodigies, from the garden of Eden to the visions of the prophet Daniel ; and they were bound, like the catholics, to justify against the Jews the abolition of a divine law. In the great mysteries of the tri-

¹ The opinions and proceedings of the reformers are exposed in the second part of the general history of Munkheim : but the balance, which he has held with so clear an eye, and so manly an hand, begins to incline in favour of his Lutheran brethren.

nity and incarnation the reformers were severely orthodox: they freely adopted the theology of the four, or the first six councils; and with the athanasian creed, they pronounced the eternal damnation of all who did not believe the catholic faith. Transubstantiation, the invisible change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is a tenet that may defy the power of argument and pleasantry; but instead of consulting the evidence of their senses, of their sight, their feeling, and their taste, the first protestants were entangled in their own scruples, and awed by the words of Jesus in the institution of the sacrament. Luther maintained a *corporeal*, and Calvin a *real*, presence of Christ in the eucharist; and the opinion of Zuinglius, that it is no more than a spiritual communion, a simple memorial, has slowly prevailed in the reformed churches.¹ But the loss of one mystery was amply compensated by the stupendous doctrines of original sin, redemption, faith, grace, and predestination, which have been strained from the epistles of St. Paul. These subtle questions had most assuredly been prepared by the fathers and schoolmen; but the final improvement and popular use may be attributed to the first reformers, who enforced them as the absolute and essential terms of salvation. Hitherto the weight of supernatural belief inclines

¹ Luther Edward's reformation was more bold and perfect; but in the continental articles of the church of England, a strong and explicit declaration against the *real* presence was obliterated in the original copy, to please the people, as the Lutherans, or Queen Elizabeth (Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. 3, p. 32, 129, 207).

CHAP.
LIV.

against the protestants; and many a sober christian would rather admit that a waver is God, than that God is a cruel and capricious tyrant.

Yet the services of Luther and his rivals are solid and important; and the philosopher must own his obligations to these fearless enthusiasts. i. By their hands the lofty fabric of superstition, from the abuse of indulgences to the intercession of the virgin, has been levelled with the ground. Myriads of both sexes of the monastic profession were restored to the liberty and labours of social life. An hierarchy of saints and angels, of imperfect and subordinate deities, were stripped of their temporal power, and reduced to the enjoyment of celestial happiness: their images and relics were banished from the church; and the credulity of the people was no longer nourished with the daily repetition of miracles and visions. The imitation of paganism was supplied by a pure and spiritual worship of prayer and thanksgiving, the most worthy of man, the least unworthy of the deity. It only remains to observe, whether such sublime simplicity be consistent with popular devotion; whether the vulgar, in the absence of all visible objects, will not be inflamed by enthusiasm, or insensibly subside in languour and indifference. ii. The claim of authority was broken, which restrains the bigot from thinking as he pleases, and the slave from speaking as he thinks: the popes, fathers, and councils, were no longer the supreme and in-

"Had it not been for such men as Luther and myself," said the famous Whig to Halley the philosopher, "you would now be kneeling before an image of St. Winifred."

fallible judges of the world; and each christian was taught to acknowledge no law but the scriptures, no interpreter but his own conscience. This freedom, however, was the consequence, rather than the design, of the reformation. The patriot reformers were ambitious of succeeding the tyrants whom they had dethroned. They imposed with equal rigour their creeds and confessions; they asserted the right of the magistrate to punish heretics with death. The pious or personal animosity of Calvin proscribed in Servetus^a the guilt of his own rebellion; and the flames of Smithfield, in which he was afterwards consumed, had been kindled for the anabaptists by the zeal of Cranmer.^b The nature of the tyger was the same, but he was gradually deprived of his teeth and fangs. A spiritual and temporal kingdom was possessed by the

^a The article of Servet in the *Dictionnaire Critique de Chevalier*, is the best account which I have seen of this shameful execution. See likewise the *Abbe d'Arceus*, *Nouveaux Memoires d'Histoire*, &c. tom. 11. p. 261-262.

^b I am more deeply scandalized at the single execution of Servetus, than at the hundreds which have been in the Auto-da-Fé of Spain and Portugal. 1. The soul of Calvin seems to have been overpowered by personal malice, and perhaps envy. He accused his adversary before that numerous council, the judges of Vienna, and betrayed, for his distinction, the sacred trust of a political correspondence. 2. The deed of cruelty was not justified by the pretence of danger to the church or state. In his private domestic life, Servetus was an harmless stranger, who neither provoked nor pleased, nor made any noise. 3. A civilly legislator yields the same decisions which he requires, but Calvin violated the golden rule of doing as he would be done by; a rule which I read in a moral treatise of Laurentius de Brindis, tom. 1. p. 93. edit. Havnia, four hundred years before the publication of the gospel. "A maxime quæ, leges apparet, non ut alius as sumat."

^c See Warner, vol. 9, p. 54-60. The same and humanity of the young king were expressed by the authority of the prelates.

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Roman pontiff; the protestant doctors were subjects of an humble rank, without revenue or jurisdiction. His decrees were consecrated by the antiquity of the catholic church: *their* arguments and disputes were submitted to the people; and their appeal to private judgment was accepted beyond their wishes, by curiosity and enthusiasm. Since the days of Luther and Calvin, a secret reformation has been silently working in the bosom of the reformed churches: many weeds of prejudice were eradicated; and the disciples of Erasmus* diffused a spirit of freedom and moderation. The liberty of conscience has been claimed as a common benefit, an inalienable right:† the free governments of Holland‡ and England§ introduced the practice of toleration; and the narrow allowance of the laws has been enlarged by the prudence and humanity of the times. In the exercise, the mind has understood the limits of its powers, and the

* Erasmus may be considered as the father of rational theology. After a slumber of an hundred years, it was revived by the professors of Holland, Grotius, Linborck, and Le Clerc: in England by Chillingworth, the latitudinarians of Cambridge (Barrow, Bish. of Norwich Times, vol. 1, p. 261-263, *see* also Tillotson, Clarke, Hoadley, &c.

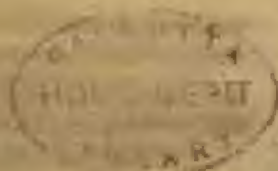
† I am sorry to observe, that the three writers of the last age, by whom the rights of toleration have been so ably defended, Bayle, Leibnitz, and Locke, are all laymen and philosophers.

‡ See the excellent chapter of Sir William Temple on the religion of the united provinces. I am not satisfied with Grotius (de Rebus Belgicis, Axiom. l. 1, p. 13, 14. edit. by Utrug, who approves the impartial laws of persecution, and only condemns the bloody tribunal of the inquisition.

§ Sir William Blackstone (Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 23, 24) explains the law of England as it was fixed at the revolution. The exceptions of papists, and of those who deny the Trinity, would still leave a tolerable scope for persecution, if the national spirit were not more effectual than an hundred statutes.

words and shadows that might amuse the child can no longer satisfy his manly reason. The volumes of controversy are overspread with cobwebs: the doctrine of a protestant church is far removed from the knowledge or belief of its private members; and the forms of orthodoxy, the articles of faith, are subscribed with a sigh or a smile by the modern clergy. Yet the friends of christianity are alarmed at the boundless impulse of inquiry and scepticism. The predictions of the catholics are accomplished: the web of mystery is unravelled by the arminians, arians, and socinians, whose numbers must not be computed from their separate congregations; and the pillars of revelation are shaken by those men who preserve the name without the substance of religion, who indulge the licence without the temper of philosophy.*

* I shall recommend to public attention two passages in Dr. Priestley, which betray the ultimate tendency of his opinions. At the first of them (*Hist. of the Corruptions of Christianity*, vol. 1, p. 174, 176), the priest, at the second (vol. II, p. 444) the congregation, may tremble!



CHAP. LV.

The Hungarians.—Origin, migrations, and settlement of the Hungarians.—Their invasions in the East and West.—The monarchy of Russia.—Geography and trade.—Wars of the Russians against the Greek empire.—Conversion of the barbarians.

CHAP.
LV.

UNDER the reign of Constantine the grandson of Heraclius, the ancient barrier of the Danube, so often violated and so often restored, was irretrievably swept away by a new deluge of barbarians. Their progress was favoured by the caligæ, their unknown and accidental auxiliaries: the Roman legions were occupied in Asia; and after the loss of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the Cæsars were twice reduced to the danger and disgrace of defending their capital against the Saracens. If, in the account of this interesting people, I have deviated from the strict and original line of my undertaking, the merit of the subject will hide my transgression or solicit my excuse. In the East, in the West, in war, in religion, in science, in their prosperity, and in their decay, the Arabians press themselves on our curiosity: the first overthrow of the church and empire of the Greeks may be imputed to their arms, and the disciples of Mahomet still hold the civil and religious scepters of the oriental world. But the same labour would be unworthily bestowed on the swarm of savages, who, between the seventh and

the twelfth century, descended from the plains of Scythia, in transient inland or perpetual emigration.* Their names are uncouth, their origins doubtful, their actions obscure, their superstition was blind, their valour brutal, and the uniformity of their public and private lives was neither softened by innocence nor refined by policy. The majesty of the Byzantine throne repelled and survived their disorderly attacks: the greater part of these barbarians has disappeared without leaving any memorial of their existence, and the despicable remnant continues, and may long continue, to groan under the dominion of a foreign tyrant. From the antiquities of, *i. Bulgarians*, *ii. Hungarians*, and *iii. Russians*, I shall content myself with selecting such facts as yet deserve to be remembered. The conquests of the, *iv. Normans*, and the monarchy of the, *v. Turks*, will naturally terminate in the memorable crusades to the holy land, and the double fall of the city and empire of Constantine.

In his march to Italy, Theodoric³ the Ostro-^{Emigra- tion of the Bulgarians, i. a. 680, &c.} goth had trampled on the arms of the Bulgarians. After this defeat, the name and the nation are lost during a century and an half; and it may be suspected that the same or a similar appellation was

* All the passages of the Byzantine history which relate to the barbarians, are compiled, methodized, and transcribed, in a Latin version, by the laborious John Gualter Scutiger, in his "Memorie Politicæ ad Divitibus, Pionum Romanorum, Pionum Maximorum, Constantinorum, et ceterorum ad Imperatorem Constantinum." Parisiis, 1771-1779; in four tomes, at the expense of the King. The edition has not contained the press of these new materials.

³ Hist. vol. vii, p. 12.

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LV.

revived by strange colonies from the Borystheneæ, the Tanais, or the Volga. A king of the ancient Bulgaria* bequeathed to his five sons a last lesson of moderation and concord. It was received as youth has ever received the counsels of age and experience: the five princes buried their father; divided his subjects and cattle; forgot his advice; separated from each other; and wandered in quest of fortune, till we find the most adventurous in the heart of Italy, under the protection of the exarch of Ravenna.^b But the stream of immigration was directed or impelled towards the capital. The modern Bulgaria, along the southern banks of the Danube, was stamped with the name and image which it has retained to the present hour: the new conquerors successively acquired, by war or treaty, the Roman provinces of Dardania, Thessaly, and the two Epirus;^c the ecclesiastical supremacy was translated from the native city of Justinian; and, in their prosperous age, the obscure town of Lychnidus, or Achrîda, was honoured with the throne

* Theophanes, p. 295-296. Ananides, p. 115. Nicephorus, c. vi. p. 22, 23. Theophanes places the old Bulgaria on the banks of the Alari or Volga; but he deprives himself of all geographical accuracy by discharging that river into the Bosphorus.

^b Paul Diacon. or Gauth. Langobard. l. v. c. 28, p. 381, 382. The apparent difference between the Lombard chronicle and the above-mentioned Greeks, is easily reconciled by Camillo Pellegrini (de Ducat. Beneventano, dissert. vii. in the *Scriptores Benev. liti. tom. v. p. 186, 187*; and Barotti (Chirograph. Italie medii ævi, p. 273, &c.) This Bulgarian colony was planted in a remote district of Benevento, and learned the Latin, without forgetting their native language.

^c These provinces of the Greek island and empire, are assigned to the Bulgarian kingdom in the reports of ecclesiastical jurisdiction between the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople (Baronius, *Annal. Eccles. a. 546*, No. 73).

of a king and a patriarch.¹ The unquestionable chap. evidence of language attests the descent of the Bulgarians from the original stock of the Slavonian, or more properly Slavonian race;² and the kindred bands of Servians, Bosnians, Rascians, Croatians, Walachians,³ &c. followed either the standard or the example of the leading tribe. From the Euxine to the Adriatic, in the state of captives or subjects, or allies or enemies, of the Greek empire, they overspread the land; and the national appellation of the *slaves*⁴ has been degraded by chance or malice from the signification of glory to that of servitude.⁵ Among these colonies, the Chroa-

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LV,

¹ The situation and royalty of Lychnidus, or Arhida, are clearly expressed in Constant. ep. 113. The removal of an archbishop or patriarch from Justiniana prima, to Lychnidus, and at length to Thessalonica, has produced some peculiarity in the name or language of the Greeks (Simplicius Gregorius, l. 10, c. 3, p. 14, 15. Theophaan, Chronique de l'Église, tom. 1, l. 1, c. 19, 230; and a Frenchman (L'Anville) is more accurately skilled in the geography of their own country (Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. 221).

² Chaboudy, in a competent judge, affirms the identity of the language of the Dalmatians, Bosnians, Servians, Bulgarians, Poles, the Robert Turlins, &c. l. 2, p. 285, and elsewhere of the Wallachians (ib. ii, p. 196). The same author has marked the separate tribes of the Hungarians.

³ See the work of John Christopher de Jordan, de Origine Schlaris, Vindobonæ, 1745, in four parts, or two volumes in folio. His collection and researches are useful to ascertain the antiquities of Romania and the adjacent countries; but the plan is narrow, the style obscure, his criticism shallow, and the Latin connected is not free from the prejudices of a *Belgicus*.

⁴ Roman authorities to the well-known and profane derivation from *slava*, *slavo*, *gloria*, a word of barbaric use in the different dialects and parts of speech, and which forms the termination of the most illustrious names (the Originibus Sclavici, part 1, p. 40, part iv, p. 101, 102).

⁵ This conversion of a national into an appellative name appears to have arisen in the sixth century, in the western France, where the princes and bishops were rich in Sclavonian captives, not of the

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*Croats or
Sclavoni-
ans of Dal-
matia, &c.
880, &c.*

tians,' or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Austrian army, are the descendants of a mighty people, the conquerors and sovereigns of Dalmatia. The maritime cities, and of these the infant republic of Ragusa, implored the aid and instructions of the Byzantine court: they were advised by the magnanimous Basil to reserve a small acknowledgment of their fidelity to the Roman empire, and to appease, by an annual tribute, the wrath of these irresistible barbarians. The kingdom of Croatia was shared by eleven *Zampans*, or feudatory lords: and their united forces were numbered at sixty thousand horse and one hundred thousand foot. A long sea-coast, indented with capacious harbours, covered with a string of islands, and almost in sight of the Italian shores, disposed both the natives and strangers to the practice of navigation. The boats or brigantines of the Croats were constructed after the fashion of the old Liburnians: one hundred and eighty vessels may excite the idea of a respectable navy: but our women will smile at the allowance of ten, or twenty, or forty, men for each of these ships of war. They were gradually converted to the more honourable service of commerce: yet the Slavonian pirates

Bohemian historian Janini, lost of Scythian race. From thence the word was extended in general use, to the modern languages, and even to the style of the late Byzantine and the Greek and Latin Glossators of Europe. The influence of the Sclavon or Persian, with the Latin word, was still more extensive and familiar. — thus, Porphyro or porphyroscelus Augustus, c. 33, p. 60.

(The emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, most accurate for his own time, more tedious for prevailing ages, describes the Sclavonians of Dalmatia c. 28-36.)

were still frequent and dangerous; and it was not before the close of the tenth century that the freedom and sovereignty of the gulf were effectually vindicated by the Venetian republic.* The ancestors of these Dalmatian kings were equally removed from the use and abuse of navigation; they dwelt in the White Croatia, in the inland regions of Silesia and Little Poland, thirty days' journey, according to the Greek computation, from the sea of darkness.

The glory of the Bulgarians[†] was confined to a narrow scope both of time and place. In the ninth and tenth centuries, they reigned to the south of the Danube; but the more powerful nations that had followed their emigration, repelled all return to the north and all progress to the west. Yet, in the obscure catalogue of their exploits, they might boast an honour which had hitherto been appropriated to the Goths; that of slaying in battle one of the successors of Augustus and Constantine. The emperor Nicephorus had lost his fame in the Arabian, he lost his life in the Slavonian war. In his first operations he advanced with boldness and success into the centre of Bulgaria, and burnt the *regal court*, which was probably no more than an edifice and village of

CHAP.
IX.

First king-
dom of the
Bulgarians.
A. D.
681-1017.

* See the *conquest of the Adriatic* of the eleventh century, recorded in John Nipernitensis, p. 24-101, and that conquest in the twelfth by the Duke Andrew Dandolo, *Scripta, Histor. Ital. novæ*, &c. p. 217-220; the two latter monuments of the history of Venice.

† The real kingdom of the Bulgarians may be found, under the proper dates, in the *Imperial Catalogue and Lexicon*. The Russian monuments are collected by *Struvius, Histor. Russicæ*, tom. 2, part. 2, p. 411-417; and the series of their kings, supposed and verified by *De Guignes (Fam. Byzant.)* p. 555-556.

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LV.

.....

4. 2. III.

timber. But, while he searched the spoil and refused all offers of treaty, his enemies collected their spirits and their forces: the passes of retreat were insuperably barred; and the trembling Nicephorus was heard to exclaim: "Alas, alas! unless we could assume the wings of birds, we cannot hope to escape." Two days he waited his fate in the inactivity of despair; but, on the morning of the third, the Bulgarians surprised the camp; and the Roman prince, with the great officers of the empire, were slaughtered in their tents. The body of Valens had been saved from insult; but the head of Nicephorus was exposed on a spear, and his skull, enclused with gold, was often replenished in the feasts of victory. The Greeks bewailed the dishonour of the throne; but they acknowledged the just punishment of avarice and cruelty. This savage cup was deeply tinged with the manners of the Scythian wilderness; but they were softened before the end of the same century by a peaceful intercourse with the Greeks, the possession of a cultivated region, and the introduction of the christian worship. The nobles of Bulgaria were educated in the schools and palace of Constantinople; and Simeon,* a youth of the royal line, was instructed in the rhetoric of Demosthenes and the logic of Aristotle. He relinquished the profession of a monk for that of a king and warrior; and in his reign, of more than forty

4. 2.
xxx. 272,
et 232.

* *Simionem* sive *Georgium* esse ultimum in quo a patribus Byzantini Despotismum dixerunt et Aristotelem philosophum professum. Lottbrand, l. iii. c. 8. He says in another place, *Simion, fuitis bellatrix, Bulgaria primus Christianus, et circa Geom raris innotuit* (l. i. c. 2).

years, Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilized powers of the earth. The Greeks, whom he repeatedly attacked, derived a faint consolation from indulging themselves in the reproaches of perfidy and sacrilege. They purchased the aid of the pagan Turks; but Simeon, in a second battle, redeemed the loss of the first, at a time when it was esteemed a victory to elude the arms of that formidable nation. The Servians were overthrown, made captive, and dispersed; and those who visited the country before their restoration could discover no more than fifty vagrants, without women or children, who extorted a precarious subsistence from the chase. On classic ground, on the banks of the Achelous, the Greeks were defeated; their horn was broken by the strength of the barbaric Hercules.² He formed the siege of Constantinople; and, in a personal conference with the emperor, Simeon imposed the conditions of peace. They met with the most jealous precautions; the royal galley was drawn close to an artificial and well-fortified platform; and the majesty of the purple was emulated by the pomp of the Bulgarian. "Are you a christian?" said the humble Romanus; "It is your duty to abstain from the blood of your fellow-christians. Has the thirst of riches seduced you from the blessings of peace? Sheath your sword, open your hand, and I will satiate the utmost measure of your

² —Blighton was Simeon's crown.

Dura tunc, intercepta transigen: & fronte cavata.

Ovid. (Metamorph.) l. 1-1986, was badly parodied the combat of the river-god and the hero; the native and the stranger.

CHAP.
LV.

A. D. 930,
&c.

"desires." The reconciliation was sealed by a domestic alliance; the freedom of trade was granted or restored; the first honours of the court were secured to the friends of Bulgaria, above the ambassadors of enemies or strangers; and her princes were dignified with the high and invidious title of *basileus*, or emperor. But this friendship was soon disturbed: after the death of Simeon, the nations were again in arms; his feeble successors were divided and extinguished; and, in the beginning of the eleventh century, the second Basil, who was born in the purple, deserved the appellation of conqueror of the Bulgarians. His avarice was in some measure gratified by a treasure of four hundred thousand pounds sterling (ten thousand pounds weight of gold), which he found in the palace of Lychnidus. His cruelty inflicted a cool and exquisite vengeance on fifteen thousand captives who had been guilty of the defence of their country: they were deprived of sight; but to one of each hundred a single eye was left, that he might conduct his blind century to the presence of their king. Their king is said to have expired of grief and horror; the nation was awed by this terrible example; the Bulgarians were swept away from their settlements, and circumscribed

1. The ambassador of Otto was presented by the Greek emperor, then Christopher Alphon Petros Bulgaresque. *Constantinople des Grecs*, Synopse, id est nomenclatio, scriptis jurisconsulti Joannis meyer. in conspectu gratiani. *opere*, id est summe, juris civilis Bulgaresque. Aperiuntur jurisconsulti, *historia*, *aliquorum* *historia* in *legibus*, p. 457. See the *Chronicle of Constantine of Porphyrogenitus*, 1046. p. 42. tom. ii. p. 443, 436, 434, 433, 447, 444, 445, 447, with the annotations of Basil.

within a narrow province; the surviving chiefs bequeathed to their children the advice of patience and the duty of revenge.

11. When the black swarm of Hungarians first ^{Emigration} ^{of the Turks} ^{in Hungary} ^{A. D. 894.} hung over Europe, about nine hundred years after the christian era, they were mistaken by fear and superstition for the Gog and Magog of the scriptures, the signs and forerunners of the end of the world.* Since the introduction of letters, they have explored their own antiquities with a strong and laudable impulse of patriotic curiosity.† Their rational criticism can no longer be amused with a vain pedigree of Attila and the Huns; but they complain that their primitive records have perished in the Tartar war; that the truth or fiction of their rustic songs is long since forgotten; and that the fragments of a rude chronicle‡ must be usefully reconciled with the

¹ A history of Wharfedale from the Conquest to the present time, by John G. Sedgwick, Esq., F.R.S.E., &c. London: Printed by J. Bland, at the Bell and Sun, in Pall-mall; and sold by all Booksellers, 1807.

* The two original authors, from whom I have obtained the most authentic, are George Perry (Dissertationes de viribus venenis Hippopotami, Sc. Vindobonae, 1774, in Latin), and Augustus Kerner (Ueber die Wirkung des venen Hippopotami, Festsch. 1776-1780). I add, in relation to the last mentioned a large and well-illustrated journal upon the same, by his son, Ludwig, and particularly, discuss the matter of a critical history.

* The author of this Chronicle is said to belong to the century of King Henry. He has been assigned him to the twelfth century, and certainly has shared for upwards the highest honour of *Poet*. This poet would read these translated scenes with the same mind, as he could suffer with others.

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LV.

contemporary though foreign intelligence of the imperial geographer.* *Magiar* is the national and oriental denomination of the Hungarians; but, among the tribes of Scythia, they are distinguished by the Greeks under the proper and peculiar name of *Turks*, as the descendants of that mighty people who had conquered and reigned from China to the Volga. The Pannonian colony preserved a correspondence of trade and amity with the eastern Turks on the confines of Persia; and after a separation of three hundred and fifty years, the missionaries of the king of Hungary discovered and visited their ancient country near the banks of the Volga. They were hospitably entertained by a people of pagans and savages, who still bore the name of Hungarians; conversed in their native tongue, recollected a tradition of their long-lost brethren, and listened with amazement to the marvellous tale of their new kingdom and religion. The zeal of conversion was animated by the interest of consanguinity; and one of the greatest of their princes had formed the generous, though fruitless, design of repopulating the solitude of Pannonia by this domestic

reputis falsis fabulis rusticarum, et garrulis senum potentiorum. In the thirteenth century, these fables were collected by Theodorus, and embellished by the Italian Bembonis. See the Preliminary Discourse to the third *Cythes Dumus*, p. 1-23.

* See Constantine de Administratione Imperii, c. 3, 4, 13, 28-37. Kayser has already fixed the composition of this work to the years 949, 950, 951 (p. 4-5). The critical footnote (p. 24-26) endeavours to prove the existence, and to relate the authors, of a free duke *Alano*, the father of *Arpad*, who is totally rejected by Constantine.

colony from the heart of Tartary.* From this primitive country they were driven to the West by the tide of war and emigration, by the weight of the more distant tribes, who at the same time were fugitives and conquerors. Reason or fortune directed their course towards the frontiers of the Roman empire; they halted in the usual stations along the banks of the great rivers; and in the territories of Moscow, Kiow, and Moldavia, some vestiges have been discovered of their temporary residence. In this long and various peregrination, they could not always escape the dominion of the stronger; and the purity of their blood was improved or sullied by the mixture of a foreign race; from a motive of compulsion or choice, several tribes of the Chazars were associated to the standard of their ancient vassals; introduced the use of a second language; and obtained by their superior renown the most honourable place in the front of battle. The military force of the Turks and their allies marched in seven equal and artificial divisions; each division was formed of thirty thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven warriors, and the proportion of women, children, and servants, supposes and requires at least a million of emigrants. Their public councils were directed by seven *vayvuds*, or hereditary chiefs; but the experience of discord and weakness recommended the more simple and vigorous administration of a single

* Præy Misseri, p. 37-39, &c. produces and illustrates the original passages of the Hungarian missionaries, Benichien and Abbe Syrois.

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person. The sceptre, which had been declined by the modest Lebedius, was granted to the birth or merit of Almus and his son Arpad, and the authority of the supreme khan of the Cluzars confirmed the engagement of the prince and people; of the people to obey his commands, of the prince to consult their happiness and glory.

Their Family
affairs.

With this narrative we might be reasonably content, if the penetration of modern learning had not opened a new and larger prospect of the antiquities of nations. The Hungarian language stands alone, and, as it were, insulated, among the Slavonian dialects; but it bears a close and clear affinity to the idioms of the Fennic race,* of an obsolete and savage race, which formerly occupied the northern regions of Asia and Europe. The genuine appellation of *Ugri* or *Iugurs* is found on the western confines of China;† their migration to the banks of the Irisk is attested by Tartar evidence;‡ a similar

* Fischer in the *Quæstiones Pædagogicæ de Dialecto Hungaricâ*, and Frey, *Dictionnaire de la Lang. Hongroise*, have drawn up several comparative tables of the Hungarian with the Fennic dialects. The affinity is indeed striking, but the instances where the words are purposely chosen, and traced to the famous Bazar of Chemsent, Académ. Pétersbourg, 1787, p. 274, show, although the Hungarian has adopted many Fennic words (sometimes even) it essentially differs from them as matter.

† In the region of Tartary, which is clearly and minutely described by the Chinese geographers Wang-tai. *Hist. du Grand Empire*, p. 11; De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. II, p. 31, &c.

‡ *Hist. Géographique des Tartares*, par Aboughazi Bahadur Khan, partie II, p. 154.

name and language are detected in the southern parts of Siberia;³ and the remains of the Fenic tribes are widely, though thinly, scattered from the sources of the Ob to the shores of Lapland.⁴ The consanguinity of the Hungarians and Laplanders would display the powerful energy of climate on the children of a common parent; the lively contrast between the bold adventurers, who are intoxicated with the wines of the Danube, and the wretched fugitives who are immersed beneath the snows of the polar circle. Arms and freedom have ever been the ruling, though too often the unsuccessful, passion of the Hungarians, who are endowed by nature with a vigorous constitution of soul and body.⁵ Extreme cold has diminished the stature and congealed the faculties of the Laplanders; and the arctic tribes, alone among the sons of men, are ignorant of war, and unconscious of human

³ In their journey to Pekin, both Ponsard and Harp (Harpis's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. ii. p. 226, 227) and Bell (Travels, vol. i. p. 114) found the Vagabits in the neighbourhood of Tschelys. By the barbarism of the expression, *bel*, *il* and *bel* are confined to the same sense; and the several variations only bear the appellation of *Ugrians*; and of all the Fenic Nations, the Vagabits is the nearest to the Hungarians (Ponsard, *Travels*, i. p. 226-227. Ponsard, *Travels*, i. p. 226-227).

⁴ The slight notice of the Fenic race not described in the various works of M. Levesque. What the Fenic means is in *Travels* de la Russie, tom. i. p. 331-332.

⁵ The picture of the Hungarian and Hungarian is clearly drawn from the *Travels* of Loe, p. 186-187, and the Latin Annals, which are alleged by Terminus, Pagi, and Muratori, &c. &c.

CHAP. blood: an happy ignorance, if reason and virtue
 LV. were the guardians of their peace.*

Tactics and
 manners of
 the Hunga-
 rians and
 Bulgarians,
 A. D. 800,
 &c.

It is the observation of the Imperial author of the tactics,[†] that all the Scythian hords resembled each other in their pastoral and military life, that they all practised the same means of subsistence, and employed the same instruments of destruction. But he adds, that the two nations of Bulgarians and Hungarians were superior to their brethren, and similar to each other, in the improvements, however rude, of their discipline and government; their visible likeness determines Leo to conform his friends and enemies in one common description; and the picture may be heightened by some strokes from their contemporaries of the tenth century. Except the merit and fame of military prowess, all that is valued by mankind appeared vile and contemptible to these barbarians, whose native fierce-

* Bessin, Hist. Naturelle, tom. 9. p. 5, in 12mo. Constantinus Aspilochites attempted, without success, to form a regiment of Legionnaires. Grunius says of these wild tribes, nomades, pasteurs, et guerriers, and observes from Strabo, lib. 17. p. 236., and others, after the manner of Tacitus, to render with philosophy their brutal ignorance.

† Leo has observed, that the government of the Turks was patriarchal, and that their punishments were rigorous. (Tactik. p. 226, *verum non desunt*.) Rhapson (in Charit. A. D. 884) mentions such as a capital crime, and his parricide was condemned by the original code of St Stephen (A. D. 1046). If a slave was guilty, he was chastised, for the first time, with the loss of his ears, or a skin of five hairs; for the second, with the loss of his ears, or a similar one; for the third, with death; which the Romans did not incur till the fourth offence, as his first penalty was the loss of liberty (Sextus, Hist. Reipub. Hungar. tom. 5. p. 231, 232).

ness was stimulated by the consciousness of numbers and freedom. The tents of the Hungarians were of leather, their garments of fur; they shaved their hair and scarified their faces: in speech they were slow, in action prompt, in treaty perfidious; and they shared the common reproach of barbarians, too ignorant to conceive the importance of truth, too proud to deny or palliate the breach of their most solemn engagements. Their simplicity has been praised; yet they abstained only from the luxury they had never known: whatever they saw, they coveted; their desires were insatiate, and their sole industry was the hand of violence and rapine. By the definition of a pastoral nation, I have recalled a long description of the economy, the warfare, and the government that prevail in that stage of society; I may add, that to fishing, as well as to the chase, the Hungarians were indebted for a part of their subsistence: and since they *seldom* cultivated the ground, they must, at least in their new settlements, have sometimes practised a slight and unskilful husbandry. In their emigrations, perhaps in their expeditions, the host was accompanied by thousands of sheep and oxen, who increased the cloud of formidable dust, and afforded a constant and wholesome supply of milk and animal food. A plentiful command of forage was the first care of the general: and if the flocks and herds were secure of their pastures, the hardy warrior was alike insensible of danger and fatigue. The confusion of men and cattle that overspread the country

CHAP. exposed their camp to a nocturnal surprise, had
LV. not a still wider circuit been occupied by their
light cavalry, perpetually in motion to discover
and delay the approach of the enemy. After
some experience of the Roman tactics, they adopted
the use of the sword and spear, the helmet of
the soldier, and the iron breast-plate of his steed;
but their native and deadly weapon was the Tar-
tar bow: from the earliest infancy, their children
and servants were exercised in the double science
of archery and horsemanship; their arm was
strong; their aim was sure; and in the most
rapid career, they were taught to throw them-
selves backwards, and to shoot a volley of arrows
into the air. In open combat, in secret ambush,
in flight, or pursuit, they were equally formid-
able: an appearance of order was maintained
in the foremost ranks; but their charge was
driven forwards by the impatient pressure of
succeeding crowds. They pursued, headlong and
rash, with loosened reins and terrific outcries;
but if they fled, with real or dissembled fear,
the ardour of a pursuing foe was checked and
chastised by the same habits of irregular speed
and sudden evolution. In the abuse of victory,
they astonished Europe, yet smarting from the
wounds of the Saracen and the Dane: mercy
they rarely asked, and more rarely bestowed;
both sexes were accused as equally inaccessible to
pity; and their appetite for raw flesh might coun-
tenance the popular tale, that they drank the
blood and feasted on the hearts of the slain.
Yet the Hungarians were not devoid of those

CHAP.
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principles of justice and humanity, which nature has implanted in every bosom. The license of public and private injuries was restrained by laws and punishments; and in the security of an open camp, theft is the most tempting and most dangerous offence. Among the barbarians, there were many, whose spontaneous virtue supplied their laws and corrected their manners, who performed the duties, and sympathised with the affections, of social life.

After a long pilgrimage of flight or victory, the Turkish hordes approached the common limits of the French and Byzantine empires. Their first conquests and final settlements extended on either side of the Danube above Vienna, below Belgrade, and beyond the measure of the Roman province of Pannonia, or the modern kingdom of Hungary.^a That ample and fertile land was loosely occupied by the Moravians, a Slavonian name and tribe, which were driven by the invaders into the compass of a narrow province. Charlemagne had stretched a vague and nominal empire as far as the edge of Transylvania; but, after the failure of his legitimate line, the Dukes of Moravia forgot their obedience and tribute to the monarchs of oriental France. The bastard Arnulph was provoked to invite the arms of the Turks; they rushed through the real or figurative wall, which his indiscretion had thrown open; and the king of Germany has been justly reproached^b as a traitor to the civil and ecclesi-

Establishment and grounds of the Hungarians, A. D. 892.

^a See Klaproth, *Hist. de l'Asie Mineure*, p. 311-312.



CITAF.

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5. 12. 20

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astical society of the christians. During the life of Arnulph, the Hungarians were checked by gratitude or fear; but in the infancy of his son Lewis they discovered and invaded Bavaria; and such was their Scythian speed, that in a single day a circuit of fifty miles was stript and consumed. In the battle of Augshurgh the christians maintained their advantage till the seventh hour of the day; they were deceived and vanquished by the flying stratagems of the Turkish cavalry. The conflagration spread over the provinces of Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia; and the Hungarians^a promoted the reign of anarchy, by forcing the stoutest barons to discipline their vassals and fortify their castles. The origin of walled towns is ascribed to this calamitous period; nor could any distance be secure against an enemy, who, almost at the same instant, laid in ashes the Helvetian monastery of St. Gall, and the city of Bremen, on the shores of the northern ocean. Above thirty years the Germanic empire, or kingdom, was subject to the ignominy of tribute; and resistance was disarmed by the menace, the serious and effectual menace, of dragging the women and children into captivity, and of slaughtering the males above the age of ten years. I have neither power nor inclination to follow the Hungarians beyond the Rhine; but I must ob-

² Hungarian name, and no names for national export cereals. See in the preface of László J. L. c. 23, who frequently expatiates on the origin of his own names. See L. J. c. 3, 1. 11, c. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 1, 31, c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 18, in Legat. p. 155. His names are glaring, but his stratagem must be recalled by Post and Blumfeld.

serve with surprise, that the southern provinces of France were blasted by the tempest, and that Spain, behind her Pyrenees, was astonished at the approach of these formidable strangers.¹ The vicinity of Italy had tempted their early inroads; but, from their camp on the Brenta, they beheld with some terror the apparent strength and populousness of the new-discovered country. They requested leave to retire; their request was proudly rejected by the Italian king; and the lives of twenty thousand christians paid the forfeit of his obstinacy and rashness. Among the cities of the West, the royal Pavia was conspicuous in fame and splendour; and the pre-eminence of Rome itself was only derived from the relics of the apostles. The Hungarians appeared; Pavia was in flames; forty-three churches were consumed; and, after the massacre of the people, they spared about two hundred wretches, who had gathered some bushels of gold and silver (a vague exaggeration) from the smoking ruins of their country. In these annual excursions from the Alps to the neighbourhood of Rome and Capua, the churches, that yet escaped, resounded with a fearful litany: "Oh! save and deliver us from the arrows of the Hungarians!" But the saints were deaf or inexorable; and the torrent rolled forwards, till it was stopped by the ex-

¹ The three bloody reigns of Arpad, Istvan, and Yuzur, are critically illustrated by Katus Hillis, *Danubio*, &c. p. 161-220. His diligences are witnessed both in letters and footprints; yet to the deeds of murder, or of glory, I have been able to add the destruction of Bezsanya. *Alman. Hungaricus*, i. 47.

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A. D. 811.

treme land of Calabria.¹ A composition was offered and accepted for the head of each Italian subject; and ten bushels of silver were poured forth in the Turkish camp. But falsehood is the natural antagonist of violence; and the robbers were defrauded both in the numbers of the assessment and the standard of the metal. On the side of the East the Hungarians were opposed in doubtful conflict by the equal arms of the Bulgarians, whose faith formed an alliance with the pagans, and whose situation formed the barrier of the Byzantine empire. The barrier was overturned; the emperor of Constantinople beheld the waving banners of the Turks; and one of their boldest warriors presumed to strike a battle-axe into the golden gate. The arts and treasures of the Greeks diverted the assault; but the Hungarians might boast, on their retreat, that they had imposed a tribute on the spirit of Bulgaria and the majesty of the Cæsars! The remote

¹ Mirrored has considered with patience even the danger and resources of Modern. The various thoughts of Constantine, their position, to some, by his intercession, the whole, *Agagham*, &c.

Some to separate, from each person.

As Ungaricum non defensus jaculis.

The bishop created walls for the public defence, not contra dominum sermo (Anaphora. Ital. and Lat.), tom. I, Quæst. I, p. 31, 33, and the song of the rightly which is not without elegance or use (tom. II, ch. 31, p. 709). The Italian annalist has accurately traced the series of their tribute (Annali d'Italia, tom. vii, p. 363, 367, 368, 401, 437, 440, tom. viii, p. 19, 41, 57, &c.)

² Both the Hungarians and Bulgarians suppose, that they besieged, or attacked, or pressed Constantinople (Pry, *Recherches*, i, p. 239. Kappeler, *Hist. Grecque*, p. 234. *ibid.*) and the fact is above confirmed by the Byzantine historians (Leo Constantinus, p. 304. *Constantine*, tom. II, p. 679).

and rapid operations of the same campaign appear to magnify the power and numbers of the Turks; but their courage is most deserving of praise, since a light troop of three or four hundred horse would often attempt and execute the most daring inroads to the gates of Thessalonica and Constantinople. At this disastrous era of the ninth and tenth centuries, Europe was afflicted by a triple scourge from the North, the East, and the South: the Norman, the Hungarian, and the Saracen, sometimes trod the same ground of desolation; and these savage foes might have been compared by Homer to the two lions growling over the carcass of a mangled stag.*

The deliverance of Germany and Christendom was achieved by the Saxon princes. Henry the Fowler and Otto the Great, who, in two memorable battles, for ever broke the power of the Hungarians.* The vallant Henry was raised from a bed of sickness by the invasion of his country; but his mind was vigorous and his

Victory of
Henry the
Fowler,
1834.

p. 622); yet, however glorious to the nation, it is denied or doubted by the critical historians, and even by the poetry of Bala. Their representations is questionable; they could not easily transcribe or believe the rusepennabala; but Bala might have given due attention to the evidence of Loupennal; Balgerrum attains eight Grosceat tribulationi Gessant (Mss. l. 2, c. 4, p. 433).

1890

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

* They are simply and critically discussed by Estlin (Hilal, *Diogenes*, p. 231-248, 327-370). Compend 12, II, v. 8, 9 is the best evidence for the former, and Winkler (Annal. Reuue. I, 16) of the latter; but the critical discussion will not even mention the basis of a source which is said to be preserved at Diastase.

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prudence successful. "My companions," said he on the morning of the combat, "maintain your ranks, receive on your bucklers the first arrows of the pagans, and prevent their second discharge by the equal and rapid career of your lances." They obeyed, and conquered: and the historical picture of the castle of Merselburgh expressed the features, or at least the character, of Henry, who, in an age of ignorance, entrusted to the finer arts the perpetuity of his name.* At the end of twenty years, the children of the Turks who had fallen by his sword invaded the empire of his son; and their force is defined, in the lowest estimate, at one hundred thousand horse. They were invited by domestic faction; the gates of Germany were treacherously unlocked; and they spread, far beyond the Rhine and the Meuse, into the heart of Flanders. But the vigour and prudence of Otho dispelled the conspiracy; the princes were made sensible, that unless they were true to each other, their religion and country were irrecoverably lost; and the national powers were reviewed in the plains of Augsburg. They marched and fought in eight

of Otho the
Great,
A. D. 936.

* *Hinc cum triumphum, tam laudo quam memoriæ dignum, ad Merselburgum rex in superstiti monumento dantis per Teutonicos, in ostenturum, notari precepit; adeo ut cum verum pulchre quædam veritatem videtur: an high encomium (Lutprand. l. ii. c. 9). Another picture in Germany had been painted with holy authors by the order of Charlemagne; and Muratori may justly affirm, nulla æcula fuit in quibus pictores dantes ad forensi (Antiquitates Ital. med. æv. tom. ii. dissert. xlvii. p. 380, 381). Our domestic artists in antiquity of ignorance and original impatience (Walsley's lively words) are of a much more recent date (Antiquities of Falsung, vol. i. p. 2, &c.)*

legions, according to the division of provinces and tribes; the first, second, and third, were composed of Bavarians; the fourth of Franconians; the fifth of Saxons, under the immediate command of the monarch; the sixth and seventh consisted of Swabians; and the eighth legion, of a thousand Bohemians, closed the rear of the host. The resources of discipline and valour were fortified by the arts of superstition, which, on this occasion, may deserve the epithets of generous and salutary. The soldiers were purified with a fast; the camp was blessed with the relics of saints and martyrs; and the christian hero girded on his side the sword of Constantine, grasped the invincible spear of Charlemagne, and waved the banner of St. Maurice, the prefect of the Theban legion. But his firmest confidence was placed in the holy lance,* whose point was fashioned of the nails of the cross, and which his father had extorted from the king of Burgundy, by the threats of war and the gift of a province. The Hungarians were expected in the front; they secretly passed the Lech, a river of Bavaria that falls into the Danube; turned the rear of the christian army; plundered the baggage, and disordered the legions of Bohemia and Swabia. The battle was restored by the Franconians, whose duke, the valiant Conrad, was pierced with an arrow as he rested from his fatigues;

* See *Hannibal's Antiquities*, &c. p. 225, No. 3-5. The lance of Christ is taken from the best evidence. *Liberalist*, l. 12, c. 112, *Thiers*, and the arms of St. George; but the christian military action depended on the faith of the *Gesta Anglorum* post *Henric*, l. 6, c. 2.

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the Saxons fought under the eyes of their king ; and his victory surpassed, in merit and importance, the triumphs of the last two hundred years. The loss of the Hungarians was still greater in the flight than in the action ; they were encompassed by the rivers of Bavaria ; and their past cruelties excluded them from the hope of mercy. Three captive princes were hanged at Ratisbon, the multitude of prisoners was slain or mutilated, and the fugitives, who presumed to appear in the face of their country, were condemned to everlasting poverty and disgrace.* Yet the spirit of the nation was humbled, and the most accessible passes of Hungary were fortified with a ditch and rampart. Adversity suggested the counsels of moderation and peace : the robbers of the West acquiesced in a sedentary life ; and the next generation was taught by a discerning prince, that far more might be gained by multiplying and exchanging the produce of a fruitful soil. The native race, the Turkish or Fennic blood, was mingled with new colonies of Scythian or Slavonian origin ; many thousands of robust

* *Lamart. Hist. Ducom. Hongrois*, p. 300, &c.

* Among these colonies we may distinguish, 1. The Chetars, or Chetars, who joined the Hungarians on their march down the Danube, *Impér.* 29, 40, p. 108, 109. 2. The Jazzes, Merisians, and Sicils, whom they found in the land ; the last were perhaps a remnant of the Huns of Attila, and were furnished with the guard of the borders. 3. The Russians, who, like the Swiss in France, imported a martial spirit in the royal service. 4. The Bulgarians, whose chiefs (a. 1040) were invited, and brought multitudes of *Hiunkellars*. Had any of these conquerors embraced the Mahometan religion ? 5. The Bosnians and Cumans, a mixed multitude of Persians, Uls, Gomers, &c. who had opened to the lower Empire. The first colony of 40,000 Cumans, a. d. 1220, was received and converted

and industrious captives had been imported from all the countries of Europe; and after the marriage of Geisa with a Bavarian princess, he bestowed honours and estates on the nobles of Germany.¹ The son of Geisa was invested with the regal title, and the house of Arpad reigned three hundred years in the kingdom of Hungary. But the freeborn barbarians were not dazzled by the lustre of the diadem, and the people asserted their indefensible right of choosing, deposing, and punishing the hereditary servant of the state.

III. The name of *Russians* was first divulged in the ninth century, by an embassy from Theophilus, emperor of the East, to the emperor of the West, Lewis, the son of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the

by the kings of Hungary, who derived from that title a new regal appellation (*Græc. Dissert. c. vii. p. 109-112. Katona, Hist. Ducum, p. 93-99, 262-264, 276, 279-283, &c.*)

¹ Christiani autem, quorum pars imperi populi est, qui ex omni parte mundi hinc trahi sunt captivi, &c. Such was the language of Pilgrinus, the first missionary who entered Hungary, i. e. 873. *Græc. major* is strong. *Hist. Ducum, p. 317.*

² The *Altes Testament* of Götze are authenticated in old charters; and Katona, with his usual industry, has made a fair estimate of these charters, which had been so loosely amplified by the Italian Renaissance (*Hist. Critic. Ducum, p. 267-281*).

³ Among the Greeks, the national appellation has a singular form. *Ρωσ* is an undecipherable word, of which some fanciful etymologies have been suggested. I have pursued with pleasure and profit, a dissertation de l'origine Rusorum (*Comment. Académ. Pétersbourg, tom. viii. p. 228-236*), by Theophilus Sigisfeld Bayer, a learned German, who spent his life and labours in the service of Russia. A geographical tract of d'Anville de l'Empire de Russie, son Origine, &c. et d'Accroissement, (Paris, 1772, in 12mo.) has likewise been of use.

CHAP.
LV.

Origins of
the Russian
monarchy.

CHAP. envoys of the great duke, or chagan, or czar,
 LV. of the Russians. In their journey to Constantinople, they had traversed many hostile nations; and they hoped to escape the dangers of their return by requesting the French monarch to transport them by sea to their native country. A closer examination detected their origin: they were the brethren of the Swedes and Normans, whose name was already odious and formidable in France; and it might justly be apprehended, that these Russian strangers were not the messengers of peace, but the emissaries of war. They were detained, while the Greeks were dismissed; and Lewis expected a more satisfactory account, that he might obey the laws of hospitality or prudence, according to the interest of both empires.* The Scandinavian origin of the people, or at least the princes, of Russia, may be confirmed and illustrated by the national annals† and the general history of the North. The Normans, who had so long been concealed by a veil of impenetrable darkness, suddenly burst forth in the spirit of naval and military enterprise. The vast, and, as it is said, the populous regions

* See the entire passage *supra*, c. viii. § 10, note in *Infanterie* (Ligny) in the *Annales Bibliques Françaises* (in *Strass*). Hist. Mercant., tom. II, part I, p. 316, n. 102, twenty-two years before the era of Rurik. In the tenth century, *Leopold* (Hist. L. v. c. 6), speaks of the Russians and Normans as the same Aquilunian families of a red complexion.

† My knowledge of these annals is drawn from M. Laveque, Hist. de la Russie. Kievan, the first and best of these ancient annals, was a work of Kievan, who died in the beginning of the twelfth century; but his chronicle was obscure, and it was published at Petersburg, 1767, in 100. Laveque, Hist. de Russie, tom. I, p. 171. Carr's Travels, vol. II, p. 184.

of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were crowded with independent chieftains and desperate adventurers, who sighed in the laziness of peace, and smiled in the agonies of death. Piracy was the exercise, the trade, the glory, and the virtue, of the Scandinavian youth. Impatient of a bleak climate and narrow limits, they started from the banquet, grasped their arms, sounded their horn, ascended their vessels, and explored every coast that promised either spoil or settlement. The Baltic was the first scene of their naval achievements; they visited the eastern shores, the silent residence of Fennic and Schavonian tribes, and the primitive Russians of the lake Ladoga paid a tribute, the skins of white squirrels, to these strangers, whom they saluted with the title of *Varangians*,* or Corsairs. Their superiority in arms, discipline, and renown, commanded the fear and reverence of the natives. In their wars against the more inland savages, the Varangians condescended to serve as friends and auxiliaries, and gradually, by choice or conquest, obtained the dominion of a people whom they were qualified to protect. Their tyranny was expelled, their valour was again recalled, till at length Ruric, a Scandinavian chief, became the father of a dynasty which reigned above seven hundred years. His brothers extended his influence: the example of service and usurpation was imitated by his companions in the southern provinces of Russia; and their establishments, by the usual

A. D. 422.

* Thompkin. Sig. Bayar de Varanga (for the name is differently spelt), in *Comment. Academ. Petropoliense*, tom. iv, p. 275-277.

CHAP. methods of war and assassination, were cemented
 IV. into the fabric of a powerful monarchy.

The Va-
 rangians of
 Constantinople.

As long as the descendants of Ruric were considered as aliens and conquerors, they ruled by the sword of the Varangians, distributed estates and subjects to their faithful captains, and supplied their numbers with fresh streams of adventurers from the Baltic coast.* But when the Scandinavian chiefs had struck a deep and permanent root into the soil, they mingled with the Russians in blood, religion, and language, and the first Waladimir had the merit of delivering his country from these foreign mercenaries. They had seated him on the throne; his riches were insufficient to satisfy their demands; but they listened to his pleasing advice, that they should seek, not a more grateful, but a more wealthy, master: that they should embark for Greece, where, instead of the skins of squirrels, silk and gold would be the recompence of their service. At the same time the Russian prince admonished his Byzantine ally to disperse and employ, to recompence and restrain, these impetuous children of the north. Contemporary writers have recorded the introduction, name, and character of the *Varangians*: each day they rose in confidence and esteem; the whole body was assembled at Constantinople to perform the duty of guards; and their strength was recruited by a numerous band of their countrymen

* Yet, as late as the year 1018, Kiev and Russia were still guarded by fugitives or mercenaries whose conduct, as we learn from the *Chronicle of Hermann of Merseburg*, who quotes (p. 222) the *Chronicle of Hermann of Merseburg*, observed that it was unusual for the Germans to enlist in a foreign service.

from the island of Thule. *On this occasion, the vague appellation of Thule is applied to England; and the new Varangians were a colony of English and Danes who fled from the yoke of the Norman conqueror. The habits of pilgrimage and piracy had approximated the countries of the earth; these exiles were entertained in the Byzantine court; and they preserved, till the last age of the empire, the inheritance of spotless loyalty, and the use of the Danish or English tongue. With their broad and double-edged battle-axes on their shoulders, they attended the Greek emperor to the temple, the senate, and the hippodrome; he slept and feasted under their trusty guard; and the keys of the palace, the treasury, and the capital, were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Varangians.^b

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In the tenth century, the geography of Scythia was extended far beyond the limits of ancient knowledge; and the monarchy of the Russians obtains a vast and conspicuous place in the map of Constantine.^c The sons of Ruric were mas-

Geography
and trade
of Russia,
c. A. D. 1000.

* Du Cange has collected from the original authors the state and history of the Varangi at Constantinople (Glossar. Med. et Infimæ Græcæ, sub voce Rurici).—Mæd. et Infimæ Græcæ, sub voce Rurici. Not. ad Alexand. Aræop. Canonica, p. 238, 237, 212. Notes sur Villehardouin, p. 298-299. See likewise the annotations of Bekker to the *Correspondance Aulic Byzant. de Constantin*, tom. II., p. 110, 120. Saxo-Græmmatius asserts that they spoke Danish; but Goltzius maintains them till the sixteenth century in the use of their native English: Rurici, p. 100. c. Rurici, p. 100. c. Rurici, p. 100. c.

^b The original record of the geography and trade of Russia is preserved by the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Administrat. Imperii).

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ters of the spacious province of Wolodimir, or Moscow: and, if they were confined on that side by the hords of the east, their western frontier in those early days was enlarged to the Baltic sea and the country of the Prussians. Their northern reign ascended above the sixtieth degree of latitude, over the Hyperborean regions, which fancy had peopled with monsters, or clouded with eternal darkness. To the south they followed the course of the Borysthenes, and approached with that river the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea. The tribes that dwelt, or wandered, on this ample circuit, were obedient to the same conqueror, and insensibly blended into the same nation. The language of Russia is a dialect of the Slavonian; but, in the tenth century, these two modes of speech were different from each other; and, as the Slavonian prevailed in the South, it may be presumed that the original Russians of the North, the primitive subjects of the Varangian chief, were a portion of the Fennic race. With the emigration, union, or dissolution, of the wandering tribes, the loose and indefinite picture of the Scythian desert has continually shifted. But the most ancient map of Russia affords some places which still retain their name and position: and the two capitals, Nov-

Imperii, v. 7, p. 53, 54, v. 9, p. 48-51; v. 13, p. 63-67, v. 37, p. 106, v. 42, p. 111, 112, and illustrated by the diligence of Bayer the Geographical Museum historique Begemann venter & c. p. 149, in *Comptes Rendus, Paris*, tom. 16, p. 367-422, tom. 2, p. 371-423), with the aid of the chronicles and traditions of Russia, soundly and

gorod^a and Kiow^b are coeval with the first CHAP.
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age of the monarchy. Novogorod had not yet deserved the epithet of great, nor the alliance of the Hanseatic league, which diffused the streams of opulence and the principles of freedom. Kiow could not yet boast of three hundred churches, an innumerable people, and a degree of greatness and splendour, which was compared with Constantinople by those who had never seen the residence of the Cæsars. In their origin, the two cities were no more than camps or fairs, the most convenient stations in which the barbarians might assemble for the occasional business of war or trade. Yet even these assemblies announce some progress in the arts of society; a new breed of cattle was imported from the southern provinces; and the spirit of commercial enterprise pervaded the sea and land from the Baltic to the Euxine, from the mouth of the Oder to the port of Constantinople. In the days of idolatry and barbarism, the Slavonic city of

^a The haughty proverb, "Who can resist God and the great Novogorod?" is applied by M. Lantins (*Mém. de Russie*, tom. i. p. 66) even to the times that preceded the reign of Boris. In the course of his history he frequently celebrates this republic, which was suppressed A. D. 1478 (*tom. ii. p. 248-260*). That accurate traveller, Adam Olearius, describes in 1635 the remains of Novogorod, and the route by sea and land of the Holstein emperors (*tom. i. p. 123-129*).

^b In the *reges cunctos, quos ex caput regni, plus trecentis milibus habitantibus et novem milibus, populi etiam ignota annis* (Eggshardus ad a. d. 1018, apud Bayer. tom. ii. p. 412). He likewise quotes (*tom. i. p. 227*) the words of the Saxon annalist, Cujus (Hannæ) metropolis est Chio, secunda caput Constantinopolitanæ quæ est clarissima domus Græciæ. The name of Kiow, especially in the strength of the word, had reached the German and the Arabian geographers.

of their cattle; and the whole produce of the north was collected and discharged in the magazines of Kioiv. The month of June was the ordinary season of the departure of the fleet: the timber of the canoes was framed into the oars and benches of more solid and capacious boats; and they proceeded without obstacle down the Borysthenes, as far as the seven or thirteen ridges of rocks, which traverse the bed, and precipitate the waters, of the river. At the more shallow falls it was sufficient to lighten the vessels; but the deeper cataracts were impassable; and the mariners, who dragged their vessels and their slaves six miles over land, were exposed in this toilsome journey to the robbers of the desert.^a At the first island below the falls, the Russians celebrated the festival of their escape; at a second, near the mouth of the river, they repaired their shattered vessels for the longer and more perilous voyage of the Black sea. If they steered along the coast, the Danube was accessible; with a fair wind they could reach in thirty-six or forty hours the opposite shores of Anatolia; and Constantinople admitted the annual visit of the strangers of the north. They returned at the stated season with a rich cargo of corn, wine, and oil, the manufactures of Greece, and the spices of India. Some of their countrymen re-

^a Cosmas only reckons seven cataracts, of which he gives the Russian and Scythian names; but thirteen are enumerated by the *seigneur de Beudant*, a French engineer, who had surveyed the course and navigation of the Danube at Borysthenes (*Description d'Ekaterin, 1699*, in this quarter); but the copy is imperfect, wanting in my copy.

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sides in the capital and provinces; and the national treaties protected the persons, effects, and privileges of the Russian merchant.¹

Naval ex-
peditions of
the Russians
against Con-
stantinople.

But the same communication which had been opened for the benefit, was soon abused for the injury, of mankind. In a period of one hundred and ninety years, the Russians made four attempts to plunder the treasures of Constantinople: the event was various, but the motive, the means, and the object, were the same in these naval expeditions.² The Russian traders had seen the magnificence and tasted the luxury of the city of the Cæsars. A marvellous tale, and a scanty supply, excited the desires of their savage countrymen: they envied the gifts of nature which their climate denied: they coveted the works of art which they were too lazy to imitate and too indigent to purchase; the Varangian princes unfurled the banners of piratical adventure, and their bravest soldiers were drawn from the nations that dwell in the northern isles of the ocean.³ The image of their naval armaments was revived

¹ * *Novice, ou le voyageur, Hist. de Russie*, tom. 4, p. 78-82. From the Disputer or Hypocritism, the Russians went to Black Bulgaria, Cherson, and Syria. To Syria, how & where & when? May we not, instead of *Isaac*, read *Ismael* (the Admiral's name, v. 42, p. 112)? The situation is slight; the position of Syria, between Cherson and Egypt, is perfectly suitable; and the story was still new in the seventh century (*Contes*, tom. 3, p. 770).

* The wars of the Russians and Greeks in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, are related in the Byzantine annals, especially those of *Zonaras* and *Codinus*; and all their business is collected in the *History of Russia*, tom. 3, page 3, p. 938-1041.

² * *History of Russia*, tom. 3, page 3, p. 938-1041. The story is still new in the seventh century (*Contes*, tom. 3, p. 770).

in the last century, in the fleets of the Cosacks, which issued from the Borysthenes, to navigate the same seas, for a similar purpose.* The Greek appellation of *monoxyla*, or single canoes, might be justly applied to the bottom of their vessels. It was scooped out of the long stem of a beech or willow[†]; but the slight and narrow foundation was raised and continued on either side with planks, till it attained the length of sixty, and the height of about twelve, feet. These boats were built without a deck, but with two rudders and a mast; to move with sails and oars; and to contain from forty to seventy men, with their arms, and provisions of fresh water and salt fish. The first trial of the Russians was made with two hundred boats; but when the national force was exerted, they might arm against Constantinople a thousand or twelve hundred vessels. Their fleet was not much inferior to the royal navy of Agamemnon, but it was magnified in the eyes of fear to ten or fifteen times the real proportion of its strength and numbers. Had the Greek emperors been endowed with foresight to discern, and vigour to prevent, perhaps they might have sealed with a maritime force the mouth of the Borysthenes. Their indolence abandoned the coast of Asia to the calamities of a piratical war, which, after an interval of six hundred years, again infested the Euxine; but as long as the capital was re-

* See Strabon, (*Description de l'Europe*, p. 24-25); his description is very brief; his plans accurate, and except the dimensions of the arms, we may read old Russians, for modern Cosacks.

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LV.

The first.
c. n. 264.

The second
c. n. 264.

spected, the sufferings of a distant province escaped the notice both of the prince and the historian. The storm which had swept along from the Phasis and Trebizond, at length burst on the Bosphorus of Thrace; a strait of fifteen miles, in which the rude vessels of the Russian might have been stopped and destroyed by a more skilful adversary. In their first enterprise* under the princes of Kioy, they passed without opposition, and occupied the port of Constantinople in the absence of the emperor Michael, the son of Theophilus. Through a crowd of perils he landed at the palace-stairs, and immediately repaired to a church of the Virgin Mary.† By the advice of the patriarch, his garment, a precious relic, was drawn from the sanctuary and dipped in the sea; and a seasonable tempest, which deterred the retreat of the Russians, was devoutly ascribed to the mother of God.‡ The silence of the Greeks may inspire some doubt of the truth, or at least of the importance, of the second attempt by Oleg the guardian of the sons

* It is to be observed, that Meyer has only given a dissertation de Russorum prae- expeditione Constantinensi (Comment. Archiv. Europæ, tom. vi. p. 262-281). After dissecting some obscure and intimations, he shows to the year 861 or 862, a date which might have suggested some doubts and difficulties in the legends of St. Constantine's history.

† When Phocas went his subject, equal to the enterprise of the Russians, the latter were not yet sufficiently ripe; for preparation the same were necessary and necessary to the Russian war.

† See Gibbon's history, v. 463, 464. Constantine's Confession, in Script. post Theodosium, p. 121, 122. Symeon Logothet, p. 117, 118. George Hagiograph, p. 223, 226. Cedrenus, tom. i. p. 221. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 112.

of Ruric.* A strong barrier of arms and fortifications defended the Bosphorus: they were eluded by the usual expedient of drawing the boats over the isthmus; and this simple operation is described in the national chronicles, as if the Russian fleet had sailed over dry land with a brisk and favourable gale. The leader of the third armament, Igor, the son of Ruric, had chosen a moment of weakness and decay, when the naval powers of the empire were employed against the Saracens. But if courage be not wanting, the instruments of defence are seldom deficient. Fifteen broken and decayed galleys were boldly launched against the enemy; but instead of the single tube of Greek fire usually planted on the prow, the sides and stern of each vessel were abundantly supplied with that liquid combustible. The engineers were dexterous; the weather was propitious: many thousand Russians, who chose rather to be drowned than burnt, leaped into the sea; and those who escaped to the Thracian shore were inhumanly slaughtered by the peasants and soldiers. Yet one third of the canoes escaped into shallow water; and the next spring Igor was again prepared to retrieve his disgrace and claim his revenge.† After a

* See NAME and NAME, in LEVSKY'S *Hist. de Russie*, tom. i., p. 74, 81. KETTER (Hist. Russes, p. 73, 77) does not attempt to disprove this Russian story, which would stand the siege of Kiew by the Hungarians.

† See GRIMMATHUS, p. 308, 307. *Index Costin*, p. 263, 264. *German Legation*, p. 446, 461. *Georg. Monach.*, p. 363, 369. *Collegium*, tom. ii., p. 623. *Lectiones*, tom. ii., p. 180, 191, and *Liturgic*, l. 5, c. 6, who relates from the narratives of his father-in-law, then ambassador at Constantinople, and asserts the vain exaggeration of the Greeks.

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The fourth
A.D. 1042.

Negotia-
tions and
prophecy.

long peace, Jaroslaus, the great-grandson of Igor, resumed the same project of a naval invasion.

A fleet, under the command of his son, was repulsed at the entrance of the Bosphorus by the same artificial flames. But in the rashness of pursuit the vanguard of the Greeks was encompassed by an irresistible multitude of boats and men; their provision of fire was probably exhausted; and twenty-four galleys were either taken, sunk, or destroyed.*

Yet the threats or calamities of a Russian war were more frequently diverted by treaty than by arms. In these naval hostilities, every disadvantage was on the side of the Greeks: their savage enemy afforded no mercy; his poverty promised no spoil; his impenetrable retreat deprived the conqueror of the hopes of revenge; and the pride or weakness of empire indulged an opinion, that no honour could be gained or lost in the intercourse with barbarians. At first their demands were high and inadmissible, three pounds of gold for each soldier or mariner of the fleet: the Russian youth adhered to the design of conquest and glory: but the counsels of moderation were recommended by the hoary sages. "Be content," they said, "with the liberal offers of Caesar; is it not far better to obtain, without a combat, the possession of gold, silver, silks, and all the objects of our desires? Are we sure of victory? Can we conclude a treaty

* I can only appeal to Calaneo (tom. 4, p. 725, 726) and Zonaras (tom. 11, p. 253, 254); but they give mine weighty and credible as they draw near to their own times.

“ with the sea? We do not tread on the land; CHAP. I.V.
 “ we float on the abyss of water, and a common
 “ death hangs over our heads.” The memory of
 these arctic fleets that seemed to descend from
 the polar circle, left a deep impression of terror
 on the imperial city. By the vulgar of every
 rank, it was asserted and believed, that an eque-
 strian statue in the square of Taurus, was secretly
 inscribed with a prophecy, how the Russians, in
 the last days, should become masters of Constan-
 tinople.* In our own time, a Russian armament,
 instead of sailing from the Borysthènes, has cir-
 cumnavigated the continent of Europe; and the
 Turkish capital has been threatened by a squadron
 of strong and lofty ships of war, each of which,
 with its naval science and thundering artillery,
 could have sunk or scattered an hundred canoes,
 such as those of their ancestors. Perhaps the
 present generation may yet behold the accom-
 plishment of the prediction, of a rare prediction,
 of which the style is unambiguous and the date
 unquestionable.

By land the Russians were less formidable than Belge of Sweden 1719.
 by sea; and as they fought for the most part on
 foot, their irregular legions must often have been
 broken and overthrown by the cavalry of the L. S. 1719-1721.

* Nistor, apud Lavesque, *Hist. de Russie*, tom. 6. p. 81.

* This brass statue, which has been brought from Antioch, and was melted down by the Latins, was supposed to represent either Joshua or Belshazzar; an odd dilemma. See Nicetas Choniates (p. 413, 414), Codinus (de Originatione c. 1. p. 14), and the anonymous writer de Antiquitat. c. 1. (Banduri, *Imp. Orient. tom. 1. p. 17, 19*), who lived about the year 1100. They witness the belief of the prophecy (the rest is immaterial).

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Scythian hordes. Yet their growing towns, however slight and imperfect, presented a shelter to the subject and a barrier to the enemy: the monarchy of Kiow, till a fatal partition, assumed the dominion of the north; and the nations from the Volga to the Danube were subdued or repelled by the arms of Swatoslans,* the son of Igor, the son of Oleg, the son of Ruric. The vigour of his mind and body was fortified by the hardships of a military and savage life. Wrapt in a bear-skin, Swatoslans usually slept on the ground, his head reclining on a saddle: his diet was coarse and frugal, and, like the heroes of Homer,† his meat (it was often horse-flesh) was broiled or roasted on the coals. The exercise of war gave stability and discipline to his army; and, it may be presumed, that no soldier was permitted to transcend the luxury of his chief. By an embassy from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, he was moved to undertake the conquest of Bulgaria, and a gift of fifteen hundred pounds of gold was laid at his feet to defray the expence, or reward the toils, of the expedition. An army of sixty thousand men was assembled and embarked: they sailed from the Borysthènes to the

* The life of Swatoslans, or Svolodslaf, or Sphegodstichlan, is extracted from the Russian Chronicles by M. Lottinque (*Hist. de Russie*, tom. i. p. 94-103).

† This consideration may be clearly seen in the death scene of the Iliad (208-221), in the manner of the meeting of Achilles. By such a picture, a thousand years past, could distinguish the west, and distinguish the reader; but the Greek verse was harmonious; a dead language not without appeal to the sense of feeling; and at the distance of two thousand seven hundred years, we are struck with the primitive measures of antiquity.

Danube; their landing was effected on the Maesian shore; and, after a sharp encounter, the swords of the Russians prevailed against the arrows of the Bulgarian horse. The vanquished king sunk into the grave; his children were made captive; and his dominions, as far as mount Haemus, were subdued or ravaged by the northern invaders. But instead of relinquishing his prey, and performing his engagements, the Varangian prince was more disposed to advance than to retire; and, had his ambition been crowned with success, the seat of empire in that early period might have been transferred to a more temperate and fruitful climate. Swatoslaus enjoyed and acknowledged the advantages of his new position, in which he could unite, by exchange or rapine, the various productions of the earth. By an easy navigation he might draw from Russia the native commodities of furs, wax, and hydromel: Hungary supplied him with a breed of horses and the spoils of the West; and Greece abounded with gold, silver, and the foreign luxuries, which his poverty had affected to disdain. The hands of Patzinacites, Chozars, and Turks, required to the standard of victory; and the ambassador of Nicephorus betrayed his trust, assumed the purple, and promised to share with his new allies the treasures of the eastern world. From the banks of the Danube, the Russian prince pursued his march as far as Adrianople: a formal summons to evacuate the Roman province was dismissed with contempt; and Swatoslaus fiercely replied, that Constantinople might soon expect the presence of an enemy and a master.

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His descent
by John
Zimisces,
A. D.
970-973.

Nicephorus could no longer expel the mischief which he had introduced; but his throne and wife were inherited by John Zimisces,* who, in a diminutive body, possessed the spirit and abilities of an hero. The first victory of his lieutenants deprived the Russians of their foreign allies, twenty thousand of whom were either destroyed by the sword, or provoked to revolt, or tempted to desert. Thrace was delivered, but seventy thousand barbarians were still in arms; and the legions that had been recalled from the new conquests of Syria, prepared, with the return of the spring, to march under the banners of a warlike prince, who declared himself the friend and avenger of the injured Bulgaria. The passes of mount Hæmus had been left unguarded; they were instantly occupied; the Roman vanguard was formed of the *immortals* (a proud imitation of the Persian style); the emperor led the main body of ten thousand five hundred foot; and the rest of his forces followed in slow and cautious array with the baggage and military engines. The first exploit of Zimisces was the reduction of Marcianopolis, or Peristhalaba,† in two days:

* This singular epithet is derived from the Armenian language, and *Yimisces* is interpreted in Greek by *εὐχαιρέτης* or *propitiator*. As I profess myself equally ignorant of these words, I may be forgiven in the question in the play, "Pray, which of you is the interpreter?" From the context, they seem to signify *Abolishers* (see Deacon, A. D. see also Dr. Cæsar, Comment. Gen. p. 1350.)

† In the Slavonic tongue, the name of Peristhalaba implied the great or illustrious city, *περιστάλαβα* and *παλαιοπολις*, says Anna Comnena (Axiol. l. vii. p. 191). From its position between mount Hæmus and the lower Danube, it appears to fill the ground, or at least the ruins, of *Mandragaria*. The situation of *Peristhalaba*, or *Deceza*, is well known and complains (Comment. Acad. Petropol. tom.

the trumpets sounded; the walls were scaled; eight thousand five hundred Russians were put to the sword; and the sons of the Bulgarian king were rescued from an ignominious prison, and invested with a nominal diadem. After these repeated losses, Swatoslaus retired to the strong post of Dristra, on the banks of the Danube, and was pursued by an enemy who alternately employed the arms of celerity and delay. The Byzantine galleys ascended the river; the legions completed a line of circumvallation; and the Russian prince was encompassed, assaulted, and famished, in the fortifications of the camp and city. Many deeds of valour were performed; several desperate sallies were attempted; nor was it till after a siege of sixty-five days that Swatoslaus yielded to his adverse fortune. The liberal terms which he obtained announce the prudence of the victor, who respected the valour, and apprehended the despair, of an unconquered mind. The great duke of Russia bound himself by solemn imprecations to relinquish all hostile designs; a safe passage was opened for his return; the liberty of trade and navigation was restored; a measure of corn was distributed to each of his soldiers; and the allowance of twenty-two thousand measures attests the loss and the remnant of the barbarians. After a painful voyage, they again reached the mouth of the Borysthenes; but their provisions were exhausted, the season was unfavourable; they passed the winter on the

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ice; and, before they could prosecute their march, Swatoslaus was surprised and oppressed by the neighbouring tribes, with whom the Greeks entertained a perpetual and useful correspondence.* Far different was the return of Zimisces, who was received in his capital like Camillus or Marius, the saviours of ancient Rome. But the merit of the victory was attributed by the pious emperor to the mother of God; and the image of the virgin Mary, with the divine infant in her arms, was placed on a triumphal car, adorned with the spoils of war and the ensigns of Bulgarian royalty. Zimisces made his public entry on horseback; the diadem on his head, a crown of laurel in his hand; and Constantinople was astonished to applaud the martial virtues of her sovereign.[†]

Conversion
of Russia,
p. 2, 304.

Photius of Constantinople, a patriarch whose ambition was equal to his curiosity, congratulates himself and the Greek church on the conversion of the Russians.[‡] Those fierce and bloody barbarians had been persuaded by the voice of reason

* The political arrangements of the Greeks, more especially with the Persians, are explained in the seven last chapters, *de Administratione Imperii*.

† In the narrative of this war, Leo the Deacon (supra Page, Critica, tom. iv, c. 2, 305-317) is more authentic and circumstantial than Cedrenus (*tom. ii, p. 692-700*) and Zonaras (*tom. ii, p. 203-215*). These historians have multiplied 10,000,000 and 120,000 men, the Russian forces, of which the manuscript only gives a moderate and reasonable account.

‡ *Phot. Epistol. ii, No. 55, p. 28, edit. Montan.* It was unnecessary of the learning of the priest to convert the Russian nation, as Peter, for a war-cry of the Bulgarians, was still a beacon of enlighten and patriarch to convert the Slavonian nations, the Bulgarians and the Poles. They were neither Greeks nor Africans.

and religion, to acknowledge Jesus for their God, the christian missionaries for their teachers, and the Romans for their friends and brethren. His triumph was transient and premature. In the various fortune of their piratical adventures, some Russian chiefs might allow themselves to be sprinkled with the waters of baptism: and a Greek bishop, with the name of metropolitan, might administer the sacraments in the church of Kiow, to a congregation of slaves and natives. But the seed of the gospel was sown on a barren soil: many were the apostates, the converts were few; and the baptism of Olga may be fixed as the era of Russian christianity.* A female, perhaps of the lowest origin, who could revenge the death, and assume the sceptre, of her husband Igor, must have been endowed with those active virtues which command the fear and obedience of barbarians. In a moment of foreign and domestic peace, she sailed from Kiow to Constantinople; and the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus has described with minute diligence the ceremonial of her reception in his capital and palace. The steps, the titles, the salutations, the banquet, the presents, were exquisitely adjusted, to gratify the vanity of the stranger, with due reverence to the superior majesty of the purple.[†] In the

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Baptism of
Olga.
A. D. 902.

* M. Lavegaue has extracted, from old chronicles and modern compilations, the most remarkable account of the village of the Rovi, and the conversion of Russia (*Hist. de Russie*, tom. i. p. 33-35, 38, 39, 93; 112-113, 174-179, 146, 149, &c.).

† See the *Constitutiones Aulicæ Byzantice* tom. II. c. 15, p. 343-344. The style of Olga, as Olga, is *supremæ* *Terrenæ*. For the chief of her

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sacrament of baptism, she received the venerable name of the empress Helena; and her conversion might be preceded or followed by her uncle, two interpreters, sixteen damsels, of an higher, and eighteen of a lower rank, twenty-two domestics or ministers, and forty-four Russian merchants, who composed the retinue of the great princess Olga. After her return to Kiow and Novogorod, she firmly persisted in her new religion; but her labours in the propagation of the gospel were not crowned with success; and both her family and nation adhered with obstinacy or indifference to the gods of their fathers. Her son Swatoslaus was apprehensive of the scorn and ridicule of his companions; and her grandson Wolodamir devoted his youthful zeal to multiply and decorate the monuments of ancient worship. The savage deities of the north were still propitiated with human sacrifices: in the choice of the victim, a citizen was preferred to a stranger, a christian to an idolater; and the father, who defended his son from the sacerdotal knife, was involved in the same doom by the rage of a fanatic tumult. Yet the lessons and example of the pious Olga had made a deep, though secret, impression on the minds of the prince and people: the Greek missionaries continued to preach, to dispute, and to baptize; and the ambassadors or merchants of Russia compared the idolatry of the woods with the elegant superstition of Constan-

tinize the Greeks whimsically borrowed the title of an Athenian magistrate, with a common termination, which would have astonished the sag of Demosthenes.

temple. They had gazed with admiration on the dome of St. Sophia, the lively pictures of saints and martyrs; the riches of the altar, the number and vestments of the priests, the pomp and order of the ceremonies; they were edified by the alternate succession of devout silence and harmonious song; nor was it difficult to persuade them, that a choir of angels descended each day from heaven to join in the devotion of the christians.* But the conversion of Wolodomir of Wola-
CHAP. LV.
of Wola-
domir,
A. D. 988.

was determined, or hastened, by his desire of a Roman bride. At the same time, and in the city of Cherson, the rites of baptism and marriage were celebrated by the christian pontiff: the city he restored to the emperor Basil, the brother of his spouse; but the brazen gates were transported, as it is said, to Novogorod, and erected before the first church as a trophy of his victory and faith.[†] At his despotic command, Peroun, the god of thunder, whom he had so long adored, was dragged through the streets of Kiow; and twelve sturdy barbarians battered with clubs the mishapen image which was in-

* See my *Geographical Fragments* published by Baudouin (*Imperium Orientale*, tom. ii.), p. 112, 113 de Constantinople Russonum.

[†] Cherson, or Chocum, is mentioned by Herodotus (*apud Pagi*, tom. iv., p. 46) as the place of Wolodomir's baptism and marriage; and both the tradition and the gates are still preserved at Novogorod. Yet an observing traveller transports the brazen gates from Blagoburg in Germany (*Cox's Travels into Russia*, &c. vol. i., p. 437), and quotes an inscription, which seems to justify his opinion. The modern reader must not confound this old Cherson of the Tauric or Crimean peninsula, with a new city of the same name, which has arisen near the mouth of the Borysthènes, and was lately honoured by the memorable interview of the empress of Russia with the emperor of the West.

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dignantly cast into the waters of the Borysthenes. The edict of Wladomir had proclaimed, that all who should refuse the rites of baptism would be treated as the enemies of God and their prince; and the rivers were instantly filled with many thousands of obedient Russians, who acquiesced in the truth and excellence of a doctrine which had been embraced by the great duke and his boyars. In the next generation, the relics of paganism were finally extirpated; but as the two brothers of Wladomir had died without baptism, their bones were taken from the grave, and sanctified by an irregular and posthumous sacrament.

Orthodox-
ity of the
North,
v. p. 309
-4190.

In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries of the christian era, the reign of the gospel and of the church was extended over Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Russia.* The triumphs of apostolic zeal were repeated in the iron age of christianity; and the northern and eastern regions of Europe submitted to a religion, more different in theory than in practice, from the worship of their native idols. A laudable ambition excited the monks, both of Germany and Greece, to visit the tents and huts of the barbarians: poverty, hardships, and dangers, were the lot of the first missionaries: their courage was active and patient; their motive pure and meritorious: their present reward consisted in the testimony of their con-

* Consult the Latin text, or English version, of Mosheim's excellent history of the church, under the first head or section of each of these centuries.

science and the respect of a grateful people; but the fruitful harvest of their toils was inherited and enjoyed by the proud and wealthy prelates of succeeding times. The first conversions were free and spontaneous: an holy life and an eloquent tongue were the only arms of the missionaries; but the domestic fables of the pagans were silenced by the miracles and visions of the strangers; and the favourable temper of the chiefs was accelerated by the dictates of vanity and interest. The leaders of nations, who were saluted with the titles of kings and saints,^a held it lawful and pious to impose the catholic faith on their subjects and neighbours: the coast of the Baltic, from Holstein to the gulf of Finland, was invaded under the standard of the cross; and the reign of idolatry was closed by the conversion of Lithuania in the fourteenth century. Yet truth and candour must acknowledge, that the conversion of the North imparted many temporal benefits both to the old and the new christians. The rage of war inherent to the human species, could not be healed by the evangelic precepts of charity and peace; and the ambition of catholic princes has renewed in every age the calamities of hostile contention. But the admission of the barbarians into the pale of civil and ecclesiastical society de-

^a In the year 1000, the ambassadors of St. Stephen received from papa Sylvester the title of king of Hungary, with a diploma of Greek workmanship. It had been designed for the duke of Poland; but the Poles, by their own confusion, were yet too barbarous to deserve an imperial and apostolical crown (Kutina, Hist. Græc. Regum Hung. Apollonia, tom. 1, p. 1420).

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LV.

livered Europe from the depredations, by sea and land, of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Russians, who learned to spare their brethren and cultivate their possessions.¹ The establishment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy; and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe. The liberal polity of the Russian princes engaged in their service the most skilful of the Greeks, to decorate the cities and instruct the inhabitants: the dome and the paintings of St. Sophia were rudely copied in the churches of Kiow and Novogorod: the writings of the fathers were translated into the Slavonic idiom; and three hundred noble youths were invited or compelled to attend the lessons of the college of Jaroslens. It should appear that Russia might have derived an early and rapid improvement from her peculiar connection with the church and state of Constantinople, which in that age so justly despised the ignorance of the Latins. But the Byzantine nation was servile, solitary, and verging to an early decline; after the fall of Kiow, the navigation of the Borysthenes was forgotten; the great princes of Wladimir and Moscow were separated from the sea and Christendom; and the

¹ I refer to the statement of Adam of Bremen (a. d. 1075), of which the following is a specimen of truth: *Sunt ibi Equites Danici, Regini, Gothi, pannoni, et alii. Antiqui tamen sunt populi illi germani qui sunt in ista regione etc.* This passage is not the subject of any of the ancient historians etc. *propter quod etiam ibi sunt antiqui christiani* See also Orosius, l. c. p. 40, 41, with Ptolemy's accurate and original prospect of the north of Europe, and the introduction of Christianity.

divided monarchy was oppressed by the igno- CHAP.
miny and blindness of 'Tartar servitude.'¹ The LV.
Selavonic and Scandinavian kingdoms, which had
been converted by the Latin missionaries, were
exposed, it is true, to the spiritual jurisdiction
and temporal claims of the popes;² but they were
united, in language and religious worship, with
each other, and with Rome; they imbibed the
free and generous spirit of the European repub-
lic, and gradually shared the light of knowledge
which arose on the western world.

¹ The great prison removed in 1146 from Kiev, which was razed
by the Tartars in 1240. Moscow became the seat of empire in the
sixteenth century. See the first and second volumes of Lomomov's
History, and Mr. Cate's Travels into the North, tom. i, p. 251. &c.

² The ambassadors of St. Stephen had used the reverential expressions
of reverent obedience, absolute submission, &c. which were most signifi-
cantly interpreted by Gregory VII; and the Hungarians Catholics are dis-
tinguished between the authority of the pope and the independence of the
crown (Kutina, 1144. Pálffy, tom. 2, p. 24-25, tom. 4, p. 304, 344,
309, &c.).

CHAP. LVI.

The Saracens, Franks, and Greeks, in Italy.—First settlements and settlement of the Normans.—Character and conquests of Robert Guiscard, Duke of Apulia.—Deliverance of Sicily by his brother Roger.—Victories of Robert over the emperors of the East and West.—Roger, king of Sicily, invades Africa and Greece.—The emperor Manuel Comnenus.—Wars of the Greeks and Normans.—Extinction of the Normans.

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LVI.

Conflict of
the Saracens,
Lan-
cians, and
Greeks, in
Italy,
A. D. 940
-1017.

THE three great nations of the world, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other on the theatre of Italy.^a The southern provinces, which now compose the kingdom of Naples, were subject, for the most part, to the Lombard dukes and princes of

^a For the general history of Italy in the sixth and seventh centuries, I must necessarily refer to the sixth, seventh, and seventh books of Sigismondo de Ruper Italia (in the second volume of his works, Milan, 1733); the Annals of Harmsen, with the Continuation of Pagi; the seventh and eighth books of the Tabula Utriusque del Regno di Napoli di Guarnieri; the seventh and eighth volumes (the eastern edition) of the Annali d'Italia di Muratori; and the 3d volume of the Abbege Chronologie of M. de St. Mart, a work which, under a superficial title, contains much genuine learning and industry. But my long accustomed reader will give me credit for saying, that I myself have resorted to the Lombard Annals, as often as such resort could be either profitable or possible; and that I have diligently turned over the original in the first volume of Muratori's great collection of the Scriptores Rerum Italianarum.

Beneventum;^b so powerful in war, that they checked for a moment the genius of Charlemagne; so liberal in peace, that they maintained in their capital an academy of thirty-two philosophers and grammarians. The division of this flourishing state produced the rival principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua; and the though less ambition or revenge of the competitors invited the Saracens to the ruin of their common inheritance. During a calamitous period of two hundred years, Italy was exposed to a repetition of wounds, which the invaders were not capable of healing by the union and tranquillity of a perfect conquest. Their frequent and almost annual squadrons issued from the port of Palermo, and were entertained with too much indulgence by the christians of Naples: the more formidable fleets were prepared on the African coast; and even the Arabs of Andalusia were sometimes tempted to assist or oppose the modern of an adverse sect. In the revolution of human events, a new ambushade was concealed in the Caudine forks, the fields of Cannæ were belewed a second time with the blood of the Africans, and the sovereign of Rome again attacked or defended the walls of Capua and Tarentum. A colony of Saracens had been planted at Bari, which commands the entrance of the Adriatic gulf; and their impartial depredations provoked the resentment, and consolidated the union, of the two emperors. An offensive alliance

^a *Umbilio Pellegrino*, a learned citizen of the last century, has quoted the history of this duchy of Beneventum, in the two books, *Historia Principum Longobardorum*, in the scriptoria of Morano. ^b *ibid.* lib. para. 1, p. 221-244, and *ibid.* v. p. 138-244.

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LVI.

Conquest
of Bari,
A. D. 871.

was concluded between Basil the Macedonian, the first of his race, and Lewis, the great grandson of Charlemagne; and each party supplied the deficiencies of his associate. It would have been imprudent in the Byzantine monarch to transport his stationary troops of Asia to an Italian campaign; and the Latin arms would have been insufficient, if his superior navy had not occupied the mouth of the gulf. The fortress of Bari was invested by the infantry of the Franks, and by the cavalry and galleys of the Greeks; and, after a defence of four years, the Arabian emir submitted to the clemency of Lewis, who commanded in person the operations of the siege. This important conquest had been achieved by the concert of the East and West; but their recent unity was soon embittered by the mutual complaints of jealousy and pride. The Greeks assumed as their own the merit of the conquest and the pomp of the triumph; extolled the greatness of their powers, and affected to deride the intemperance and sloth of the handful of barbarians who appeared under the banners of the Carlovingian prince. His reply is expressed with the eloquence of indignation and truth: "We confess the magnitude of your preparations," says the great-grandson of Charlemagne. "Your armies were indeed as numerous as a cloud of summer locusts, who darken the day, flap their wings, and, after a short flight, tumble weary and breathless to the ground. Like them, ye sunk

* See Constantine, Porphyrogen. de Thematibus. L. II. c. 27, in VII. Hæd. c. 35, p. 181.

* after a feeble effort: ye were vanquished by
 " your own cowardice, and withdrew from the
 " scene of action to injure and despoil our christ-
 " ian subjects of the Slavonian coast. We were
 " few in number, and why were we few? be-
 " cause, after a tedious expectation of your arri-
 " val, I had dismissed my host, and retained only
 " a chosen band of warriors to continue the block-
 " ade of the city. If they indulged their hosi-
 " pitable feasts in the face of danger and death,
 " did these feasts abate the vigour of their en-
 " terprise? Is it by your fasting that the walls
 " of Bari have been overturned? Did not these
 " valiant Franks, diminished as they were by lan-
 " guor and fatigue, intercept and vanquish the
 " three most powerful emirs of the Saracens?
 " and did not their defeat precipitate the fall of
 " the city? Bari is now fallen; Tarentum trem-
 " bles; Calabria will be delivered; and, if we
 " command the sea, the island of Sicily may be
 " rescued from the hands of the infidels. My
 " brother, (a name most offensive to the vanity
 " of the Greek), accelerate your naval succours,
 " respect your allies, and distrust your flatterers."

These lofty hopes were soon extinguished by
 the death of Lewis, and the decay of the Carlo-
 vingian house; and whoever might deserve the
 honour, the Greek emperor, Basil, and his son
 Leo, secured the advantage, of the reduction of

Now pre-
 sence of the
 Greeks in
 Italy,
 c. 800.

* The original epistle of the emperor Lewis II. to the emperor
 Basil, a curious record of the age, was first published by Harwood
 (*Annals of the Empire*, &c. 1772, No. 51-51), from the Vatican and of
 manuscript, in either of the anonymous histories of Salerno.

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LXX.

Bari. The Italians of Apulia and Calabria were persuaded or compelled to acknowledge their supremacy, and an ideal line from mount Garganus to the bay of Salerno, leaves the larger part of the kingdom of Naples under the dominion of the eastern empire. Beyond that line, the dukes or republics of Amalfi and Naples, who had never forfeited their voluntary allegiance, rejoiced in the neighbourhood of their lawful sovereign; and Amalfi was enriched by supplying Europe with the produce and manufactures of Asia. But the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua were reluctantly torn from the communion of the Latin world, and too often violated their oaths of servitude and tribute. The city of Bari rose to dignity and wealth, as the metropolis of the new theme or province of Lombardy: the title of patrician, and afterwards the singular name of *Catapan*,^s was assigned to

* See an excellent discussion of Republican Anti-Semitism in the Appendix (p. 1-42) of Henry Deane's *Historical Foundations of Jewish and Christian*, 1722, in 4 vols.

¹ These measures, says B. Stephens, were given and sold in excellent proportions to the Congress by the President, and, upon vigorous discussion, were adopted. North (journal notes) was not present because politics at the moment impeded his attendance. Stephens, in Logan, p. 263. Stephens is not mentioned, yet the policy changed his faith about the same time, and Cassin's Pelagiana (New York, 1842, 2nd. edn. 11, part 4, p. 183) has really flourished this idea in the face of the American character. On the national ground of history, and language, Stephens (p. 184) had asserted the Latin strain in America and Southern.

At the the Greek and Latin Chamber of Passage (Lancaster, 1818), and his name in the American (1818). Against the committee, James Smith, John Smith, Robert Smith, John Smith, for 1818, it is a copy of the Latin signature, Vol. II, de N. Smith.

the supreme government; and the policy both of the church and state was modelled in exact subordination to the throne of Constantinople. As long as the sceptre was disputed by the princes of Italy, their efforts were feeble and adverse; and the Greeks resisted or eluded the forces of Germany, which descended from the Alps under the imperial standard of the Ottom. The first and greatest of these Saxon princes was compelled to relinquish the siege of Bari: the second, after the loss of his stoutest bishops and barons, escaped with honour from the bloody field of Crotona. — On that day the scale of war was turned against the Franks by the valour of the Saracens.* These corsairs had indeed been driven by the Byzantine fleets from the fortresses and coasts of Italy; but a sense of interest was more prevalent than superstition or resentment, and the caliph of Egypt had transported forty thousand muslems to the aid of his christian ally. The successors of Basil amused themselves with the belief, that the conquest of Lombardy had been achieved, and was still preserved, by the justice of their laws, the virtues of their ministers, and the gratitude of a people

CHAP.
LVL

Defeat of
Otho m.
A. D. 1011

firmly closed (Noyes, *Chronology*, Vol. I, p. 114), that is, though the rafters were not exposed, but only within of the roof with the great valance of light.

[illegible]

CHAP. LVII. whom they had rescued from anarchy and oppression. A series of rebellions might dart a ray of truth into the palace of Constantinople; and the illusions of flattery were dispelled by the easy and rapid success of the Norman adventurers.

The revolution of human affairs had produced in Apulia and Calabria, a melancholy contrast between the age of Pythagoras and the tenth century of the christian era. At the former period, the coast of Great Greece (as it was then styled) was planted with free and opulent cities: these cities were peopled with soldiers, artists, and philosophers; and the military strength of Tarentum, Sybaris, or Crotona, was not inferior to that of a powerful kingdom. At the second era, these once-flourishing provinces were clouded with ignorance, impoverished by tyranny, and depopulated by barbarian war; nor can we severely accuse the exaggeration of a contemporary, that a fair and ample district was reduced to the same desolation which had covered the earth after the general deluge. Among the hostilities of the Arabs, the Franks, and the Greeks, in the southern Italy, I shall select two or three anecdotes expressive of their national manners. 1. It was the amusement of the Saracens to prowl, as well as to pillage, the monasteries and churches. At the siege of Sa-

[illegible]

lerno, a musliman chief spread his couch on the communion-table, and on that altar sacrificed each night the virginity of a christian nun. As he wrestled with a reluctant maid, a beam in the roof was accidentally or dexterously thrown down on his head; and the death of the lustful emir was imputed to the wrath of Christ, which was at length awakened to the defence of his faithful spouse.¹ 11. The Saracens besieged the cities of Beneventum and Capua: after a vain appeal to the successors of Charlemagne, the Lombards implored the clemency and aid of the Greek emperor.² A fearless citizen dropt from the walls, passed the entrenchments, accomplished his commission, and fell into the hands of the barbarians, as he was returning with the welcome news. They commanded him to assist their enterprise, and deceive his countrymen, with the assurance that wealth and honours should be the reward of his falsehood, and that his sincerity would be punished with immediate death. He affected to yield, but as soon as he was conducted within hearing of the christians on the rum-

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LVI.

A. D. 874.

¹ *Historiæ Ecclesiæ Siciliæ*, p. 2, p. 374. See Es. has drawn this story from a son of Harbogar, who died at Capua only fifteen years after the event. But the cardinal was deceived by a false tale, and we can only spare the subsequent Chronicle of Salerno (*Passio*, c. 110), composed towards the end of the tenth century, and published in the second volume of *Monasterii Collectionis*. See the Dissertations of Camillo Pellegrino, tom. II. pars. I. 233-281, &c.

² *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus* (in *Vit. Basil.* x. 48, p. 162) is the original author of this story. He places it under the reign of Basil and Lewis VI; not the rebellion of Argericus by the Greeks in April A. D. 891, after the deaths of both of those princes.

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LVI.

part, "Friends and brethren," he cried with a loud voice, "be bold and patient, maintain the city: your sovereign is informed of your distress, and your deliverers are at hand. I know my doom, and commit my wife and children to your gratitude." The rage of the Arabs confirmed his evidence; and the self-devoted patriot was transpierced with an hundred spears. He deserves to live in the memory of the virtuous, but the repetition of the same story in ancient and modern times, may sprinkle some doubts on the reality of this generous deed.²¹ III. The recital of the third incident may provoke a smile amidst the horrors of war. Theobald, marquis of Camerino and Spoleto,²² supported the rebels of Beneventum; and his wanton cruelty was not incompatible in that age with the character of an hero. His captives of the Greek nation or party were castrated without mercy, and the outrage was aggravated by a cruel jest, that he wished to present the emperor with a supply of eunuchs, the most precious ornaments of the Byzantine

²¹ In the year 858, the same tragedy is described by Paul the Deacon (the Greek Langobard) l. v. c. 7. b. p. 879, 871, with that a ruler the walls of the same city of Beneventum. But the names are different, and the guilt is imputed to the Greeks themselves, which to the Byzantine nation is applied to the Saracens. In the year 1070 in Germany, M. d'Assis, a French officer of the regiment of Artois, is said to have decaved himself in a similar manner. His behaviour is the more heinous, as there was no request by the enemy and he could then poison Valaire, Bishop of Lodi, &c. &c. tom. 12, p. 138.

²² Theobald, who is styled *Baro* by Langobard, was properly Duke of Spoleto and marquis of Camerino, from the year 870 to 935. The title and office of marquis (theobaldus) of the church or frontier was introduced into Italy by the French conquerors (Abregé Chronologique Ann. G. p. 645-737, &c.

court. The garrison of a castle had been defeated in a sally, and the prisoners were sentenced to the customary operation. But the sacrifice was disturbed by the intrusion of a frantic female, who, with bleeding cheeks, dishevelled hair, and importunate clamours, compelled the marquis to listen to her complaint. "Is it thus," she cried, "ye magnanimous heroes, that ye wage war against women, against women who have never injured ye, and whose only arms are the distaff and the loom?" Theobald denied the charge, and protested, that, since the Amazons, he had never heard of a female war. "And how," she furiously exclaimed, "can you attack us more directly, how can you wound us in a more vital part, than by robbing our husbands of what we most dearly cherish, the source of our joys, and the hope of our posterity? The plunder of our flocks and herds I have endured without a murmur, but this fatal injury, this irreparable loss, subdues my patience, and calls aloud on the justice of heaven and earth." A general laugh applauded her eloquence; the savage Franks, inaccessible to pity, were moved by her ridiculous, yet rational despair; and with the deliverance of the captives, she obtained the restitution of her effects. As she returned in triumph to the castle, she was overtaken by a messenger, to inquire, in the name of Theobald, what punishment should be inflicted on her husband, were he again taken in arms? "Should such," she answered without hesitation, "be his guilt and misfortune, he has eyes, and a

CHAP.
LVI.

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"nose, and hands, and feet. These are his own,  
 "and these he may deserve to forfeit by his  
 "personal offences. But let my lord be pleased  
 "to spare what his little handmaid presumes  
 "to claim as her peculiar and lawful pro-  
 "perty."

Origin of  
the Nor-  
mans in  
Italy,  
A.D. 1016.

The establishment of the Normans in the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily,\* is an event most remarkable in its origin, and in its consequences most important both to Italy and the eastern empire. The broken provinces of the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, were exposed to every invader, and every sea and land were invaded by the adventurous spirit of the Scandinavian pirates. After a long indulgence of rapine and slaughter, a fair and ample territory was accepted, occupied, and named, by the Normans of France; they renounced their gods for the god of the christians;† and the dukes of

\* Lappenberg, Hist. I. iv. c. iv. in the *Revue Ind. Sc. Litt.* tom. i. par. 12p. 125, 124. Should the truthfulness of the tale be questioned, I may explain with good reason, that it is hard if I may not reconcile with custom, what a bishop could write without example! What if I had admitted, as some serious persons compute, in spoken words, the purest truthfulness, &c. &c.

† The original monuments of the Normans in Italy are collected in the *Antiquities of Maritimi*, and among these we may distinguish the tomb of William Apertus (p. 244-273) and the history of Gualtero (287-307). Both were natives of France, but they were so far gone, in the age of the first conquest (before 1100), and with the spirit of Gualtero. It is needless to recapitulate the mistakes and errors of Italian history, Sigebertus, Baronius, Hugh, Guizot, Muratori, W. Maitz &c. whom I have always consulted, and never forgot.

‡ Some of the first converts were baptised men or twelve times, for the sake of the whole garment usually given at this ceremony.



of Normandy acknowledged themselves the vassals of the successors of Charlemagne and Capet. The savage fierceness which they had brought from the snowy mountains of Norway, was refined, without being corrupted, in a warmer climate; the companions of Rollo insensibly mingled with the natives; they imbibed the manners, language, and gallantry, of the French nation; and, in a martial age, the Normans might claim the palm of valour and glorious achievements. Of the fashionable superstitions, they embraced with ardour the pilgrimages of Rome, Italy, and the Holy land. In this active devotion, their minds and bodies were invigorated by exercise: danger was the incentive, novelty the recompence; and the prospect of the world was decorated by wonder, credulity, and ambitious hope. They confederated for their mutual defence; and the robbers of the Alps, who had been allured by the garb of a pilgrim, were often chastised by the arm of a warrior. In one of these pious visits to the cavern of mount Garganus in Apulia, which had been sanctified by the apparition of

At the funeral of Rollo, the gifts to be interred for the repose of his soul, were accompanied by a sacrifice of one hundred captives. But in a generation or two, the national change was past and gone.

The Danish language was still spoken by the Normans of Rouen, as the old minst, at a time (A. D. 1040) when it was already forgotten at Rouen, to the count and bishop. Quatre (Richard) le comte de Flandre Balouen dit le Batard, milite une province normande traitoit de, et de fagas rendit de Thorens mil chivaliers normands sept ans de son regne (Willelm. Gesta Normann. L. III. c. 8, p. 321, edit. Canodori. Of the vocabulary and Etymology of Willelm. the conquest (A. D. 1033), Seeley (Oxford, 1844, p. 164-165), has given a specimen, obsolete and obscure even in antiquaries and lawyers.

CHAP.  
LVI

the archangel Michael,\* they were accosted by a stranger in the Greek habit, but who soon revealed himself as a rebel, a fugitive, and a mortal foe of the Greek empire. His name was Melo; a noble citizen of Bari, who, after an unsuccessful revolt, was compelled to seek new allies and avengers of his country. The bold appearance of the Normans revived his hopes and solicited his confidence: they listened to the complaints, and still more to the promises, of the patriot. The assurance of wealth demonstrated the justice of his cause: and they viewed, as the inheritance of the brave, the fruitful land which was oppressed by effeminate tyrants. On their return to Normandy, they kindled a spark of enterprise; and a small but intrepid band was freely associated for the deliverance of Apulia. They passed the Alps by separate roads, and in the disguise of pilgrims; but in the neighbourhood of Rome they were saluted by the chief of Bari, who supplied the more indigent with arms and horses, and instantly led them to the field of action. In the first conflict, their valour prevailed; but in the second engagement they were overwhelmed by the numbers and military engines of the Greeks, and indignantly retreated with their faces to the enemy. The unfortunate Melo ended his life, a suppliant at the court of Germany: his Norman followers, excluded from

\* See Lambert Albert (*Descriptions d'Italie*, p. 240) and Barroine (*l. x. 482, 483*). If the archangel entered the temple and saw, perhaps the carriers of his Caesian the southerner Ulton. *Geographia* l. iv, p. 435, 436, the natives, on this account, have surpassed the Greeks in the elegance of their superstition.

their native and their promised land, wandered among the hills and vallies of Italy, and earned their daily subsistence by the sword. To that formidable sword, the princes of Capua, Beneventum, Salerno, and Naples, alternately appealed in their domestic quarrels; the superior spirit and discipline of the Normans gave victory to the side which they espoused; and their cautious policy observed the balance of power, lest the preponderance of any rival state should render their aid less important and their service less profitable. Their first asylum was a strong camp in the depth of the marshes of Campania; but they were soon endowed by the liberality of the duke of Naples with a more plentiful and permanent seat. Eight miles from his residence, as a bulwark against Capua, the town of Aversa was built and fortified for their use; and they enjoyed as their own, the corn and fruits, the meadows and groves, of that fertile district. The report of their success attracted every year new swarms of pilgrims and soldiers: the poor were urged by necessity; the rich were excited by hope; and the brave and active spirits of Normandy were impatient of ease and ambitious of renown. The independent standard of Aversa afforded shelter and encouragement to the outlaws of the province; to every fugitive who had escaped from the injustice or justice of his superiors; and these foreign associates were quickly assimilated in manners and language to the Gallic colony. The first leader of the Normans was count Rainulf; and, in the origin of society, pre-

CHAP.  
LVI.

Founda-  
tion of  
Aversa,  
a. d. 1029.



CHAP. LVI. eminence of rank is the reward and the proof of superior merit.\*

The Nur-  
man serves  
in Sicily,  
A. D. 1028.

Since the conquest of Sicily by the Arabs, the Grecian emperors had been anxious to regain that valuable possession; but their efforts, however strenuous, had been opposed by the distance and the sea. Their costly armaments, after a gleam of success, milled new pages of calamity and disgrace to the Byzantine annals: twenty thousand of their best troops were lost in a single expedition; and the detestable Moslems derided the policy of a nation, which entrusted eunuchs not only with the custody of their women, but with the command of their men.<sup>a</sup> After a reign of two hundred years, the Saracens were ruined by their divisions.<sup>b</sup> The emir disclaimed the authority of the king of Tunis; the people rose against the emir; the cities were usurped by the chiefs; each meaner rebel was independent in his village or castle; and the weaker of two rival brothers implored the friendship of the christians. In every service of danger the Normans were

\* See the first book of William Apuleius. His words are applicable to every system of barbarism and despotism:

*Et cunctum quæ personam ad illæ  
Castigant, non gratulæ suspicant;  
Machinæ et impia quæcumque nocere videtur  
Informant propitiæ; quæ cunctis utitur.*

And therefore, of the better arguments of Normandy:

*Pacta sunt, violant ut opus videtur quæ malis;  
Pacta, quæ de iuribus regibus videtur violant.*

<sup>a</sup> Improved in Longinus, p. 486. Pausanias illustrated this event from the war history of the ancient Lacedæmonians, B. C. 463, No. 17, § 19.

<sup>b</sup> See the Arabian Chronicle of Sicily, apud Muratori Script. Rer. Ital. tom. 4, p. 232.

prompt and useful; and five hundred *knights*, or CHAP. LIV. warriors on horseback, were enrolled by Arduin, the agent and interpreter of the Greeks, under the standard of Maniaces, governor of Lombardy. Before their landing, the brothers were reconciled; the union of Sicily and Africa was restored; and the island was guarded to the water's edge. The Normans led the van, and the Arabs of Messina felt the valour of an untried foe. In a second action, the emir of Syracuse was unhorsed and transpierced by the *iron arm* of William of Hauteville. In a third engagement, his intrepid companions discomfited the host of sixty thousand Saracens, and left the Greeks no more than the labour of the pursuit: a splendid victory; but of which the pen of the historian may divide the merit with the lance of the Normans. It is, however, true, that they essentially promoted the success of Maniaces, who reduced thirteen cities, and the greater part of Sicily, under the obedience of the emperor. But his military fame was sullied by ingratitude and tyranny. In the division of the spoil, the deserts of his brave auxiliaries were forgotten: and neither their avarice nor their pride could brook this injurious treatment. They complained, by the mouth of their interpreter: their complaint was disregarded; their interpreter was scourged: the sufferings were his; the insult and resentment belonged to those whose sentiments he had delivered. Yet they dissembled till they had obtained, or stolen, a safe passage to the Italian continent: their brethren of Aversa sym-

CHAP.  
LVI.

THE CON-  
QUEST OF  
APULIA,  
A.D. 1040  
-1042.

pathized in their indignation, and the province of Apulia was invaded as the forfeit of the debt.<sup>2</sup> Above twenty years after the first emigration, the Normans took the field with no more than seven hundred horse and five hundred foot; and after the recall of the Byzantine legions<sup>3</sup> from the Sicilian war, their numbers are magnified to the amount of threescore thousand men. Their herald proposed the option of battle or retreat: "of battle," was the unanimous cry of the Normans; and one of their stoutest warriors, with a stroke of his fist, felled to the ground the horse of the Greek messenger. He was dismissed with a fresh horse; the insult was concealed from the imperial troops; but in two successive battles they were more fatally instructed of the prowess of their adversaries. In the plains of Canusæ, the Asiatics fled before the adventurers of France; the duke of Lombardy was made prisoner; the Apulians acquiesced in a new dominion; and the four places of Bari, Otranto, Brundisium, and Tarentum, were alone saved in the shipwreck of the Grecian fortunes. From this era we may date the establishment of the Norman power, which soon eclipsed the infant colony of Averna.

<sup>2</sup> Jeffrey Malaterra, who relates the Sicilian war, and the conquest of Apulia (l. i. c. 7, 8, 9, 10). The same events are described by Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 741-745, 755-756), and Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 237, 238); and the Greeks are so hardened to disaster, that their weaknesses are impertinent enough.

<sup>3</sup> Cedrenus speaks of the return of the Champsians (Περγαί), and the sons of the Thracians (Θράκη); namely Constantine de Thessalonica, i. 3, 4, with Deside's sons; and afterwards names the Padians and Lycaonians with the Sicilians.



Twelve counts\* were chosen by the popular suffrage; and age, birth, and merit, were the motives of their choice. The tributes of their peculiar districts were appropriated to their use; and each count erected a fortress in the midst of his lands, and at the head of his vassals. In the centre of the province, the common habitation of Nepheli was reserved as the metropolis and citadel of the republic; an house and separate quarter was allotted to each of the twelve counts; and the national concerns were regulated by this military senate. The first of his peers, their president and general, was entitled count of Apolia; and this dignity was conferred on William of the Iron Arm, who, in the language of the age, is styled a lion in battle, a lamb in society, and an angel in council.<sup>†</sup> The manners of his coun-

• Denique cunctis, cum sit hic una indifferens,  
Quis generis et generis numerus decedat et atas,  
Inque animo. Proinde ad omnium  
Illa aut parat. Cunctisq; summa hominis  
Quo demitur ergo. Hic patet analogia terrarum  
Necesse est, si non taliter respondet  
Sociis propinquis loca que contingunt forte  
Cognosce dare debent, et quaque trahunt sequenda.

223 also, speaking of Melpe, William Agulon adds,

*[Faint, illegible handwritten text]*

Angus Thomas Morrison residing temporarily at 1101 E. 12th St.,

See Outlines G. H. c. 67, concerning the divisions of the Apollon series, which it is essential to repeat.

<sup>1</sup> *Galilaeus Apollus*, l. 30, c. 12, according to the reference of some manuscripts (Cicero *de Napoli*, l. 10, p. 31), which I cannot verify in the original. The Apollus perhaps indeed his entire name, *proditus ardent*, and *videtur vivere*, and declares that, had he (truth) no poet could have equalled his merits (l. 1, p. 258, l. 10, p. 259). He was here cited by the Nizemans, *gallus qui lanti vultu virum* (says Maistre, l. 1, c. 12, p. 211), *hunc ardent credimus, hunc esse mactandum, effundere, non licet enim, illud est in hunc diffundere*.

CHAP.  
LVI.

Character  
of the Nor-  
mans.

trymen are fairly delineated by a contemporary and national historian.\* "The Normans," says Malaterra, "are a cunning and revengeful people; eloquence and dissimulation appear to be their hereditary qualities: they can stoop to flatter; but unless they are curbed by the restraint of law, they indulge the licentiousness of nature and passion. Their princes affect the praise of popular munificence; the people observe the medium, or rather blend the extremes, of avarice and prodigality; and, in their eager thirst of wealth and dominion, they despise whatever they possess, and hope whatever they desire. Arms and horses, the luxury of dress, the exercises of hunting and hawking, are the delight of the Normans; but on pressing occasions they can endure with incredible patience the inclemency of every climate, and the toil and abstinence of a military life."

Organization  
of Apulia,  
1040, &c.

The Normans of Apulia were seated on the verge of the two empires; and, according to the policy of the hour, they accepted the investiture of their lands from the sovereigns of Germany or Constantinople. But the firmest title of these adventurers was the right of conquest: they nei-

\* The great sagacity, information, and activity which distinguished the character of Malaterra (N. I. c. 2, p. 530), are evinced in the precise and powerful character of the Normans.

\* The boldness and heroism of those personally taking to the descendants of the Vikings (see above, p. 102); they might support from Norway and Ireland the front ranks of German.

\* We may compare the power of William of Hainburg (see *Geogr. Anecdotes*, i. l. 101, 102), who approached, like a political Napoleon, the chief and centre of the German and Norman Kingdom, and was actually a conqueror by the conquest.

ther loved nor trusted; they were neither trusted nor beloved; the contempt of the princes was mixed with fear, and the fear of the natives was mingled with hatred and resentment. Every object of desire, a horse, a woman, a garden, tempted and gratified the rapaciousness of the strangers; and the avarice of their chiefs was only coloured by the more specious names of ambition and glory. The twelve counts were sometimes joined in a league of injustice: in their domestic quarrels they disputed the spoils of the people; the virtues of William were heried in his grave; and Drogo, his brother and successor, was better qualified to lead the valour, than to restrain the violence, of his peers. Under the reign of Constantine Monomachus, the policy, rather than benevolence, of the Byzantine court, attempted to relieve Italy from this adherent mischief, more glorious than a flight of barbarians; and Angyrus, the son of Melo, was invested for this purpose with the most lofty titles<sup>a</sup> and the most ample commission. The memory of his

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<sup>a</sup> The biography of St. Leo 46, points his holy station on the Sicilian. Various illustrations of ecclesiastical history against Normannorum, credited in printed rolls, in subsequent Popes' directives, solemn excommunications, Dal. Imagines, p. 100, and in the Sicilian records, &c. (Willet, v. 46). The Roman Apollon (U. 6, p. 144) says calmly of their services, *Nec committimus officia*.

<sup>b</sup> The poetry of the Greeks, songs of Marston, &c. must be collected from Grotius (Herm. v. p. 147, 148); William Apollon (U. 6, p. 147, 148, t. 10 p. 200); and the two Chronicles of Bari, by Lupus Protospata (M. 1001), for (p. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104); and an anonymous writer (Chronicon. Italiae 1001, 1002, 1003, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, 1018, 1019, 1020, 1021, 1022, 1023, 1024, 1025, 1026, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1053, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 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 father might recommend him to the Normans; and he had already engaged their voluntary service to quell the revolt of Maniaces, and to avenge their own and the public injury. It was the design of Constantine to transplant this warlike colony from the Italian provinces to the Persian war; and the son of Melo distributed among the chiefs the gold and manufactures of Greece, as the first fruits of the imperial bounty. But his arts were baffled by the sense and spirit of the conquerors of Apulia: his gifts, or at least his proposals, were rejected; and they unanimously refused to relinquish their possessions and their hopes for the distant prospect of Asiatic fortune. After the means of persuasion had failed, Argyrus resolved to compel or to destroy: the Latin powers were solicited against the common enemy; and an offensive alliance was formed of the pope and the two emperors of the East and West. The throne of St. Peter was occupied by Leo the ninth, a simple saint,<sup>1</sup> of a temper most apt to deceive himself and the world, and whose venerable character would consecrate with the name of piety the measures least compatible with the practice of religion. His huma-

League of  
the pope  
and the two  
emperors.  
A. D. 1053.  
-1054.

his *Donata*, Meuschen (Ann. vol. p. 428) says properly reads, or interprets, *Donatus*, the title of Salvator or Saviour. But in his Antiquities, he was taught by Dangeau to write it a papal title, Master of the warlike.

<sup>1</sup> A life of St. Leo IV. Argyr was sent with the poems and predictions of the age, and being composed by Wilbert, gathered at Paris, 1714, to Athens, and were inserted in his Collections of the Definitions, of Maximus, and of Marcellus. The public and private history of that pope is diligently treated by M. de St. Martin (Abregé, tom. 3, p. 110-210, and p. 15-24, second column).

nity was affected by the complaints, perhaps the calumnies, of an injured people: the impious Normans had interrupted the payment of tithes; and the temporal sword might be lawfully unsheathed against the sacrilegious robbers, who were deaf to the censures of the church. As a German of noble birth and royal kindred, Leo had free access to the court and confidence of the emperor Henry the third; and in search of arms and allies, his ardent zeal transported him from Apulia to Saxony, from the Elbe to the Tiber. During these hostile preparations, Argyrus indulged himself in the use of secret and guilty weapons: a crowd of Normans became the victims of public or private revenge; and the valiant Drago was murdered in a church. But his spirit survived in his brother Humphrey, the third count of Apulia. The assassins were chastised; and the son of Mohi, overthrown and wounded, was driven from the field to hide his shame behind the walls of Bari, and to await the tardy succour of his allies.

But the power of Constantine was distracted by a Turkish war: the mind of Henry was feeble and irresolute; and the pope, instead of repassing the Alps with a German army, was accompanied only by a guard of seven hundred Swabians and some volunteers of Lorraine. In his long progress from Mantua to Beneventum, a vile and promiscuous multitude of Italians was enlisted under the holy standard: the priest and the robber slept in the

*Exposition of Leo IX. against the Normans, a. 1052.*

\* See the exposition of Leo IX. against the Normans. See Wilkins *Appulus* II. p. 429-432; and *Jerry Malabar* II. c. 12, 14, 15, p. 153.

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same tent; the pikes and crosses were intermingled in the front; and the martial saint repeated the lessons of his youth in the order of march, of encampment, and of combat. The Normans of Apulia could muster in the field no more than three thousand horse, with an handful of infantry: the defection of the natives intercepted their provisions and retreat: and their spirit, incapable of fear, was chilled for a moment by superstitious awe. On the hostile approach of Leo, they knelt without disgrace or reluctance before their spiritual father. But the pope was inexorable; his lofty Germans affected to deride the diminutive stature of their adversaries; and the Normans were informed that death or exile was their only alternative. Flight they disdained, and, as many of them had been three days without tasting food, they embraced the assurance of a more easy and honourable death. They climbed the hill of Civitella, descended into the plain, and charged in three divisions the army of the pope. On the left, and in the centre, Richard count of Aversa, and Robert the famous Guiscard, attacked, broke, routed, and pursued the Italian multitudes, who fought without discipline, and fled without shame. A harder trial was reserved for the valour of count Humphrey, who led the cavalry of the right wing. The Germans have been described as unskilful

Who defeat  
and apprehend  
only, June  
16.

2. 1411. They are surprised, as the weakness is counterbalanced by the liberal judgment.

Tuilius quod prout in forma docuit  
Fuerit spemque prout corporis illis  
Capere dicitur Normannos que brevis  
Eam videtur.

The



in the management of the horse and lance: but on foot they formed a strong and impenetrable phalanx; and neither man, nor steed, nor armour, could resist the weight of their long and two-handed swords. After a severe conflict, they were encompassed by the squadrons returning from the pursuit, and died in their ranks with the esteem of their foes, and the satisfaction of revenge. The gates of Civitella were shut against the flying pope, and he was overtaken by the pious conquerors, who kissed his feet, to implore his blessing and the absolution of their sinful victory. The soldiers beheld in their enemy and captive the vicar of Christ; and, though we may suppose the policy of the chiefs, it is probable that they were infected by the popular superstition. In the calm of retirement, the well-meaning pope deplored the effusion of christian blood, which must be imputed to his account; he felt, that he had been the author of sin and scandal; and as his undertaking had failed, the indecency of his military character was universally condemned.<sup>a</sup> With these dispositions, he listened to the offers of a beneficial treaty; deserted an alliance which he had preached as the cause of God; and ratified the past and

The virtues of the Apostles are commonly in this strain, though he treats himself a little in the middle. Two of his similes from banking and survey are descriptive of magnificence.

<sup>a</sup> Several respectable rumours or accusations are produced by M. de St. Marc (Ann. II. p. 100-104). As Peter Damiani, the uncle of the Pope, lost almost the pope's right of making war, the heretic flagrant error trouble is assigned by the cardinal, and Damiani (Annal. Roman. v. c. 1033, No. 10-17) most strenuously asserts the two swords of St. Peter.

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LVI.

Origin of  
the papal  
investiture  
to the  
Normans.

future conquests of the Normans. By whatever hands they had been usurped, the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were a part of the donation of Constantine and the patrimony of St. Peter: the grant and the acceptance confirmed the mutual claims of the pontiff and the adventurers. They promised to support each other with spiritual and temporal arms; a tribute or quit-rent of twelve pence was afterwards stipulated for every plough-land; and since this memorable transaction, the kingdom of Naples has remained above seven hundred years a fief of the Holy See\*.

Birth and  
character  
of Robert  
Guiscard,  
A. D. 1015  
-1053.

The pedigree of Robert Guiscard<sup>b</sup> is variously deduced from the peasants and the dukes of Normandy: from the peasants, by the pride and ignorance of a Grecian princess; from the dukes,

\* The origin and nature of the papal investiture are ably discussed by Giovanni Maria Costa di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 37-40, 57-60, as a legend and antiquarian. Yet he vainly strives to reconcile the duties of piety and catholic, adopts an empty distinction of "*Monarchia Romana non dedit sed accepit*," and strikes from us honest but dangerous confusion of the truth.

\* The birth, character, and first perfections of Robert Guiscard, may be seen in Jeffrey Malgouye (i. l. c. 8, 9, 12, 16, 17, 18, 39, 30, 107, William Apollon (i. l. c. p. 201-262), William Gervase's *Chronicle* or of Jameteger (i. l. c. 20, p. 202, 204, also *Canary*, and Anna Comnena (Alexiad, i. l. c. p. 22-23, i. v. p. 163, 169), with the annotations of Dangey (Not. to Alexiad, p. 222-223, 230), who has swept all the French and Latin chronicles for supplemental intelligence.

\* Q. J. *Forogon* in Greek antiquity was a *Regulus* or *rex*, was *regis* or *rex*. . . . Agath, of a *regis* was *regis* or *rex*. And also, when *Agath*, p. 31, was *regis* or *rex* or *rex*. Anna Comnena was born in the people's *regis* but father was no more than a private thing. *Monarchia* *regis*, who raised himself to the empire.

by the ignorance and flattery of the Italian subjects.<sup>7</sup> His genuine descent may be ascribed to the second or middle order of private nobility. He sprang from a race of *vulturari* or *tancrediti*, of the diocese of the Coutances, in the lower Normandy: the castle of Hauteville was their honourable seat: his father Tancred was conspicuous in the court and army of the duke; and his military service was furnished by ten soldiers or knights. Two marriages, of a rank not unworthy of his own, made him the father of twelve sons, who were educated at home by the impartial tenderness of his second wife. But a narrow patrimony was insufficient for this numerous and daring progeny; they saw around the neighbourhood the mischiefs of poverty and discord, and resolved to seek in foreign wars a more glorious inheritance. Two only remained to perpetuate the race, and cherish their father's age: their ten brothers, as they successively attained the vigour of manhood, departed from the castle, passed the Alps, and joined the Apulian camp of the Normans. The elder were

<sup>7</sup> \* *Germania* (litt. II, p. 8) forgets all his original authors, and sees this paltry descent on the credit of Ivogues, an Augustine monk of Palermo in the last century. They continue the succession of dukes from Rollo to William II, the second or conqueror, whom they hold (consequents of Rollo) to be the father of Tancred of Hauteville: is that strange and stipendiary lineage? The seat of Tancred fought in Apulia, before William II, was three years old (i. e. A. 1037).

\* The judgment of Dureau is just and moderate: *Casti humilis fuit et humilis Roberti familia, et ducum et regum spectantes equites, et quoniam plures pervenit qui honeste tenet et prout nobilitas vulgareque status et conditionis humilis habita est, qui nec hunc reprobare alium quid nomen.* (Wilhelm Malmsham, de Gestis Anglorum, l. vii, p. 107. Not. of Abrial, p. 230).



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prompted by native spirit; their success encouraged their younger brethren, and the three first in seniority, William, Drago, and Humphrey, deserved to be the chiefs of their nation and the founders of the new republic. Robert was the eldest of the seven sons of the second marriage; and even the reluctant praise of his foes has endowed him with the heroic qualities of a soldier and a statesman. His lofty stature surpassed the tallest of his army: his limbs were cast in the true proportion of strength and grandeur; and to the decline of life, he maintained the patient vigour of health and the commanding dignity of his form. His complexion was ruddy, his shoulders were broad, his hair and beard were long and of a flaxen colour, his eyes sparkled with fire, and his voice, like that of Achilles, could impress obedience and terror amidst the tumult of battle. In the ruder ages of chivalry, such qualifications are not below the notice of the poet or historian: they may observe that Robert, at once, and with equal dexterity, could wield in the right hand his sword, his lance in the left; that in the battle of Civitella, he was thrice unhorsed; and that in the close of that memorable day he was adjudged to have borne away the prize of valour from the warriors of the two armies.\* His

\* I shall quote with pleasure some of the lines cited by the Apollon &c. p. 270.

*Propter et ipse morbi, per hanc enim, per enim  
Cetera enim, quodque enim, deditque vallet.  
Ter deperit enim, per enim, per enim  
Major in enim, enim, enim, enim, enim, enim.*

boundless ambition was founded on the consciousness of superior worth: in the pursuit of greatness, he was never arrested by the scruples of justice, and seldom moved by the feelings of humanity: though not insensible of fame, the choice of open or chaste means was determined only by his present advantage. The surname of *Guiscard* was applied to this master of political wisdom, which is too often confounded with the practice of dissimulation and deceit; and Robert is praised by the Apulian poet for excelling the cunning of Ulysses and the eloquence of Cicero. Yet these arts were disguised by an appearance of military frankness: in his highest fortune, he was accessible and courteous to his fellow-soldiers; and while he indulged the prejudices of his new subjects, he affected in his dress and manners to maintain the ancient fashion of his country. He grasped with arduousness, that he might distribute with a liberal hand: his primitive indigence had taught the habits of frugality; the ruin of a merchant was not below his attention; and his prisoners were tortured with slow and unfeeling cruelty to force a discovery of their secret treasures. According to the Greeks, he departed from Normandy with only five followers on horseback and

My Love and mine poems, etc.

Stilles im Besten heißt: nicht ohne Gefahr zu leben, und  
Nichtstun heißt: nicht ohne Not zu handeln.

[illegible]

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thirty on foot; yet even this allowance appears too beautiful: the sixth son of Tancred of Hauteville passed the Alps as a pilgrim; and his first military band was levied among the adventurers of Italy. His brothers and countrymen had divided the fertile lands of Apulia; but they guarded their shares with the jealousy of avarice; the aspiring youth was driven forwards to the mountains of Calabria, and in his first exploits against the Greeks and the natives, it is not easy to discriminate the hero from the robber. To surprise a castle or a convent, to ensnare a wealthy citizen, to plunder the adjacent villages for necessary food, were the obscure labours which formed and exercised the powers of his mind and body. The volunteers of Normandy adhered to his standard; and, under his command, the peasants of Calabria assumed the name and character of Normans.

His exploits  
this and  
more,  
c. = 1054  
-1080.

As the genius of Robert expanded with his fortune, he awakened the jealousy of his elder brother, by whom, in a transient quarrel, his life was threatened and his liberty restrained. After the death of Manigbrey, the temperance of his sons excluded them from the command: they were reduced to a private estate by the ambition of their guardian and uncle; and Guiscard was exalted on a buckler, and saluted count of Apulia and general of the republic. With an increase of authority and of force, he resumed the conquest of Calabria, and soon aspired to a rank that should raise him far ever above the heads of his equals. By some acts of rapine or sacrilege, he



had incurred a papal excommunication: but Nicholas the second was easily persuaded, that the divisions of friends could terminate only in their mutual prejudice; that the Normans were the faithful champions of the Holy See; and it was safer to trust the alliance of a prince than the caprice of an aristocracy. A synod of one hundred bishops was convened at Melphi; and the count interrupted an important enterprise to guard the person and execute the decrees of the Roman pontiff. His gratitude and policy conferred on Robert and his posterity, the ducal title,\* with the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and all the lands, both in Italy and Sicily, which his sword could rescue from the schismatic Greeks and the unbelieving Saracens.<sup>†</sup> This apostolic sanction might justify his arms; but the obedience of a free and victorious people could not be transferred without their consent; and Guiscard dissembled his elevation till the ensuing campaign had been illustrated by the conquest of Consenza and Reggio. In the hour of triumph, he assembled his troops, and solicited the Normans to confirm by their suffrage the judgment of the vicar of Christ: the soldiers hailed with joyful acclamations their

\* The negotiation of this feud 1061 by Robert appeared to a new and obscure business. With the good advice of Gualtero, Moriconi, and St. Mary, I have endeavored to form a consistent and probable narrative.

† *Baronius* (*Annus. Eccles. a. d. 1062*, No. 15) has published the original act. He professes to have copied it from the *Liber Communis*, a Vatican ms. Yet a *Liber Communis* of the thirteenth century has been printed by *Moriconi* (*Antiquit. medii ævi*, tom. v, p. 421-426); and the names of *Futurus* and *Cardinal* evince the weakness of a pretent, and even of a philosopher.

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LVI.

Duke of  
Apulia,  
c. a. 1040.

valiant duke; and the counts, his former equals, pronounced the oath of fidelity, with hollow smiles and secret indignation. After this inauguration, Robert styled himself, "by the grace of God and St. Peter, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and hereafter of Sicily;" and it was the labour of twenty years to deserve and realise these lofty appellations. Such tardy progress, in a narrow space, may seem unworthy of the abilities of the chief and the spirit of the nation: but the Normans were few in number; their resources were scanty; their service was voluntary and precarious. The bravest designs of the duke were sometimes opposed by the free voice of his parliament of barons: the twelve counts of popular election, conspired against his authority; and against their perfidious uncle, the son of Humphrey demanded justice and revenge. By his policy and vigour, Guiscard discovered their plots, suppressed their rebellions, and punished the guilty with death or exile: but in these domestic feuds, his years, and the national strength, were inevitably consumed. After the defeat of his foreign enemies, the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, their broken forces retreated to the strong and populous cities of the sea-coast. They excelled in the arts of fortification and defence; the Normans were accustomed to war on horseback in the field, and their rude attempts could only succeed by the efforts of persevering courage. The resistance of Salerno was maintained above eight months: the siege or blockade of Bari lasted near four years. In these actions the Norman

duke was the foremost in every danger; in every fatigue the last and most patient. As he pressed the citadel of Salerno, an huge stone from the rampart shattered one of his military engines; and by a splinter he was wounded in the breast. Before the gates of Bari, he lodged in a miserable hut or barrack, composed of dry branches, and thatched with straw; a perilous station, on all sides open to the inclemency of the winter and the spears of the enemy.<sup>7</sup>

The Italian conquests of Robert correspond with the limits of the present kingdom of Naples; and the countries united by his arms have not been discovered by the revolutions of seven hundred years.\* The monarchy has been composed of the Greek provinces of Calabria and Apulia, of the Lombard principality of Salerno, the republic of Amalphi, and the inland dependencies of the large and ancient duchy of Beneventum. Three districts only were exempted from the common law of subjection; the first for ever, and the two last till the middle of the succeeding century. The city and immediate territory of Benevento had been transferred, by gift or exchange, from the German emperor to the Roman pontiff; and although this holy land was sometimes invaded, the name of St. Peter was finally more potent than

<sup>7</sup> Read the life of Guiscard in the second and third books of the *Apulia*, the two last books of *Malaterra*.

\* The conquests of Robert Guiscard and Roger I. the exemption of Benevento and the 18 provinces of the kingdom, are fully exposed by Guzman in the second volume of his *Historia Sicilæ*, t. ii. c. 46. and t. xvi. p. 400-410. This modern division was not established before the time of Frederick II.



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LVI.School of  
Salerno.

the sword of the Normans. Their first colony of Averra subdued and held the state of Capua; and her princes were induced to beg their bread before the palace of their fathers. The dukes of Naples, the present metropolis, maintained the popular freedom, under the shadow of the Byzantine empire. Among the new acquisitions of Guiscard, the science of Salerno,\* and the trade of Amalphi,† may detain for a moment the curiosity of the reader. 1. Of the learned faculties, jurisprudence implies the previous establishment of laws and property; and theology may perhaps be superseded by the full light of religion and reason. But the savage and the sage must alike implore the assistance of physic; and, if our diseases are inflamed by luxury, the mischiefs of blows and wounds would be more frequent in the milder ages of society. The treasures of Grecian medicine had been communicated to the Arabian colonies of Africa, Spain, and Sicily; and in the intercourse of peace and war, a spark of knowledge had been kindled and cherished at Salerno, an illustrious city, in which the men were honest, and

\* *Commentes* (cit. v. p. 119-127), *Manfredi Antiquitat. medii Ævi*, (cit. v. p. 119-127), *Manfredi Antiquitat. medii Ævi*, (cit. v. p. 119-127), and *Tiraboschi* (*Lettere della Letteratura Italiana*) have given us historical account of these physicians; their medical knowledge and practice must be left to our physicians.

† At the end of the *Historia Plantarum* of Henry Boeckhaem (Tringet ad Rhenum, 1712, to 4to), the indefatigable author has inserted two dissertations, *de Republica Amalfitana*, and *de Amalphi a Pisanis Siculis*, which are both of the lastness of our learned and fiery writers. Yet he has forgotten two most important passages of the history of Amalfi (i. e. p. 100), which compare the trade and navigation of Amalfi with that of Venice.

the women beautiful." A school, the first that CHAP.  
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arose in the darkness of Europe, was consecrated to the healing art: the conscience of monks and bishops was reconciled to that salutary and lucrative profession; and a crowd of patients, of the most eminent rank, and most distant climates, invited or visited the physicians of Salerno. They were protected by the Norman conquerors; and Guiscard, though bred in arms, could discern the merit and value of a philosopher. After a pilgrimage of thirty-nine years, Constantine, an African christian, returned from Bagdad, a master of the language and learning of the Arabians; and Salerno was enriched by the practice, the lessons, and the writings, of the pupil of Avicenna. The school of medicine has long slept in the name of an university; but her precepts are abridged in a string of aphorisms, bound together in the leonine verses, or Latin rhymes, of the twelfth century.\*

11. Seven miles to the west of Salerno, and thirty Tide of  
Amalphi.  
to the south of Naples, the obscure town of Amalphi displayed the power and rewards of industry. The land, however fertile, was of narrow extent; but the sea was accessible and open; the inhabit-

*Urbs Eunt non est hoc depicimus ante,  
Frigidus abbatibus non reducit ita et ante  
Non tunc pueri, domus, non pueri, pueri domus  
Non ipse mulieribus abbatibus pueri domus.*

*Guido de Apulia, l. vi, p. 187.*

\* Martens carries their antiquity above the year (1000) of the death of Euseb and the Confessor, the very day when, as he says, they are celebrated. Nor is this date affected by the syllable, or rather syllables, of *Prophetia* (*Recherches de la France*, l. vi, p. 71) and *Domus* (*Glossar Latin.*). The practice of rhyming, as early as the seventh century, was borrowed from the language of the North and East (Martens, *Antiquitat. rom.* III, dissert. xl, p. 684-707).

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ants first assumed the office of supplying the western world with the manufactures and productions of the East; and this useful traffic was the source of their opulence and freedom. The government was popular under the administration of a duke and the supremacy of the Greek emperor. Fifty thousand citizens were numbered in the walls of Amalphi; nor was any city more abundantly provided with gold, silver, and the objects of precious luxury. The mariners who swarmed in her port excelled in the theory and practice of navigation and astronomy; and the discovery of the compass, which has opened the globe, is due to their ingenuity or good fortune. Their trade was extended to the coasts, or at least to the commodities, of Africa, Arabia, and India; and their settlements in Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, acquired the privileges of independent colonies.\* After three hundred years of prosperity, Amalphi was oppressed by the arms of the Normans, and sacked by the jealousy of Pisa; but the poverty of one thousand fishermen is yet dignified by the remains of an arsenal, a cathedral, and the palaces of royal merchants.

\* The description of Amalphi, by William the Apollon, D. D. p. 167, contains much truth and some poetry; and the chart line may be applied to the author's description.

Nullo magis locuples aliam, crederem, artem  
 Patiensis commercii: hic glaucæ roris herbarum  
 Nona sacra religio raris apertis prodit.  
 Hinc et Myrsinæ ducuntur semine ab ævo  
 Abissi, et Amalphi. Hinc hæc Pæda perennis trahunt,  
 Hæc Arcton, Ioni, Siciliæ, marisq. et Adri  
 Hæc glæciæ et hinc præcipue præcipue præcipue  
 Et miranda ferrum, et amara mustica, liquorem



Roger, the twelfth and last of the sons of Tancred, had been long detained in Normandy by his own and his father's age. He accepted the welcome summons; hastened to the Apulian camp; and deserted at first the esteem, and afterwards the envy, of his elder brother. Their valour and ambition were equal; but the youth, the beauty, the elegant manners, of Roger, engendered the disinterested love of his soldiers and people. So scanty was his allowance, for himself and forty followers, that he descended from conquest to robbery, and from robbery to domestic theft; and so loose were the notions of property, that, by his own historian, at his special command, he is excused of stealing horses from a stable at Melphit. His spirit emerged from poverty and disgrace: from these base practices he rose to the merit and glory of a holy war: and the invasion of Sicily was seconded by the zeal and policy of his brother Guiscard. After the retreat of the Greeks, the idolaters, a most audacious reproach of the Catholics, have retrieved their losses and possessions; but the deliverance of the island, so vainly undertaken by the forces of the eastern empire, was achieved by a small and private band of adven-

[illegible]

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turks.\* In the first attempt, Roger braved, in an open boat, the real and fabulous dangers of Scylla and Charybdis; landed with only sixty soldiers on a hostile shore; drove the Saracens to the gates of Messina; and safely returned with the spoils of the adjacent country. In the fortress of Trani, his active and patient courage were equally conspicuous. In his old age he related with pleasure, that, by the distress of the siege, himself, and the countess his wife, had been reduced to a single cloak or mantle, which they wore alternately: that in a sally his horse had been slain, and he was dragged away by the Saracens; but that he owed his rescue to his good sword, and had retreated with his saddle on his back, lest the meanest trophy might be left in the hands of the miscreants. In the siege of Trani, three hundred Normans withstood and repulsed the forces of the island. In the field of Ceramio, fifty thousand horse and foot were overthrown by one hundred and thirty-six christian soldiers, without reckoning St. George, who fought on horseback in the foremost ranks. The captive banners, with four camels, were reserved for the successor of St. Peter; and had these barbaric spoils been exposed not in the vatican, but in the capital, they might have revived the memory of the Punic triumphs.

\* This old proverbial saying, without its proper idiom, is found in the *de dictis et scriptis* of the *Historia Malabarica*, l. ii. c. 11. The concept of Scylla is retained in the three last books, and is himself given on the same summary of the chapter (p. 444-446).

These insufficient numbers of the Normans most probably denote their knights, the soldiers of honourable and equestrian rank, each of whom was attended by five or six followers in the field;<sup>a</sup> yet, with the aid of this interpretation, and after every fair allowance on the side of valour, arms, and reputation, the discomfiture of so many myriads will reduce the prudent reader to the alternative of a miracle or a fable. The Arabs of Sicily derived a frequent and powerful succour from their countrymen of Africa: in the siege of Palermo, the Norman cavalry was assisted by the galleys of Pisa; and, in the hour of action, the envy of the two brothers was sublimed to a generous and invincible emulation. After a war of thirty years, Roger, with the title of great count, obtained the sovereignty of the largest and most fruitful island of the Mediterranean; and his administration displays a liberal and enlightened mind above the limits of his age and education. The moslems were maintained in the free enjoyment of their religion and property;<sup>b</sup> a philosopher and physician of Mazara, of the race of Al-homet, harangued the conqueror, and was invited

<sup>a</sup> See the word *milites*, in the Latin Glossary of DuRoi.

<sup>b</sup> Of odd particulars, I learn from Mahomet, that the Arabs had introduced into Sicily the use of *scimitars* (l. c. 22.) and of *various figures* (l. 42.); and that the title of the *hazards* denotes a *study* disposition, *quis per artem indomiti spiritus emerge*: a spirit somewhat maliciously felt by the whole Norman army in their conquest of Palermo (l. 36). I shall add no testimony not anterior to the eleventh century: *Moslem* is derived from *Moses*, the place from whence the harvests of the tale were sent in tribute to Rome (l. 6, v. 7).

<sup>c</sup> See the captivation of Palermo in Mahomet, l. 41, v. 44, and Glanville, who remarks the general toleration of the Saracens (not. ii, p. 77).



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to court; his geography of the seven climates was translated into Latin: and Roger, after a diligent perusal, preferred the work of the Arabian to the writings of the Grecian Ptolemy.\* A remnant of christian natives had promoted the success of the Normans: they were rewarded by the triumph of the cross. The island was restored to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff: new bishops were planted in the principal cities; and the clergy was satisfied by a liberal endowment of churches and monasteries. Yet the catholic hero asserted the rights of the civil magistrate. Instead of resigning the investiture of benefices, he dexterously applied to his own profit the papal claims: the supremacy of the crown was secured and enlarged, by the singular bull, which declares the princes of Sicily hereditary and perpetual legates of the holy see.<sup>†</sup>

Robert Guiscard  
visits the  
eastern  
empire,  
&c. 1061.

To Robert Guiscard, the conquest of Sicily was more glorious than beneficial; the possession of Apulia and Calabria was inadequate to his ambition; and he resolved to embrace or create

\* John Lee Ache, de *Medietate in Palæographia Apollonia*, x. 14, apud Patav. Edition, 1666, tom. 2. lib. p. 476, 510. This author is named *Geographia Eusebia*, and he died in Africa, x. n. 510, &c. 1123. Yet this story bears a strange resemblance to the story of Edmea, who presented her book (*Geographia Noliastica*, see preface, p. 88, pp. 170) to Roger king of Sicily, x. n. 1165, &c. 1183. *Notæ ad Bibliothecæ Græcæ*, p. 786. *Philosop. & Lib. de Medicis*, p. 106. *Texte de la Carte*, *Man. de Compiègne*, p. 423, 426. *Geogr. Biblioth. de Paris*, tom. 11, p. 3-179; and I was afraid of some mistake.

† *Notæ ad Bibliothecæ Græcæ*, de Constitutione de Constitutione (l. 11, c. 7), and preface (the very end of the bull (l. 11, c. 23). *Guiscard* gives a rational idea of this privilege, and the privilege of the sovereignty of Sicily (*l. 11, p. 3-179*) and St. Mary *Albergo*, tom. 11, p. 317-321, first column) likewise the same with the diligence of a faithful historian.

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The first occasion of invading, perhaps of subduing, the Roman empire of the East.\* From his first wife, the partner of his humble fortunes, he had been divorced under the pretence of consanguinity; and her son Bohemond was destined to imitate, rather than to succeed, his illustrious father. The second wife of Gabrind was the daughter of the princes of Salerno; the Lombards aspired to the imperial succession of their son Roger; their five daughters were given in honourable nuptials; and one of them was betrothed, in a tender age, to Constantine, a beautiful youth, the son and heir of the emperor Michael.\* But the throne of Constantinople was shaken by revolution: the imperial family of Ducas was confined to the palace or the cloister; and Robert deplored, and resented, the disgrace of his daughter and the expulsion of his ally. A Greek, who styled himself the father of Constantine, soon appeared at Salerno, and related

\* To the first expedition of Vasco against the Chiriquí, I follow Acuña Comenius lib. 1<sup>ta</sup>, fol. 41b, and 2<sup>da</sup> books of the *Almoxarife* Willem Aguiar (A. 41b and 50b). I follow Muller Matos, *op. cit.* p. 12, A. 41-45, 109. The information is trustworthy and agrees with the account of other contemporary historians of the war.

[illegible]

2. *Aspa Comstocki*, somewhat like *Aspa* *gracilis* and *Aspa* *longicauda* but, also, like the former of his northern species (4.4, p. 41), was associated with his husband; but this species is not known from the same region as the other two species of the *Aspa* group. The description of the end of the body of his third, northern species, 4.4, p. 41, p. 41.

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the adventures of his fall and flight. That unfortunate friend was acknowledged by the duke, and adorned with the pomp and titles of imperial dignity: in his triumphal progress through Apulia and Calabria, Michael<sup>3</sup> was saluted with the tears and acclamations of the people; and pope Gregory the seventh exhorted the bishops to preach, and the catholics to fight, in the pious work of his restoration. His conversations with Robert were frequent and familiar; and their mutual promises were justified by the valour of the Normans and the treasures of the East. Yet this Michael, by the confession of the Greeks and Latins, was a pageant and an impostor; a monk who had fled from his convent, or a domestic who had served in the palace. The fraud had been contrived by the subtle Guiscard; and he trusted, that after this pretender had given a decent colour to his arms, he would sink, at the nod of the conqueror, into his primitive obscurity. But victory was the only argument that could determine the belief of the Greeks; and the ardour of the Latins was much inferior to their credulity: the Norman veterans wished to enjoy the harvest of their toils, and the unwarlike Italians trembled at the known and unknown dangers of a transmarine expedition.

<sup>3</sup> Anna Comnena, l. i. p. 25, 26. Gudwin. *Apul.* l. ii. p. 271. *Gothfr. Miliacra*, l. iii. c. 13, p. 379, 380. *Miliacra* is more exact in his style: but the *Agathos* is more bold and positive.

— *Monarchie de Michael*

*Virent & Dancel* *quidam* *admirant* *ad* *liber*.

As Gregory we had believed, Harputus, almost alone, recognises the impostor Michael (a. n. 1040, No. 44).



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In his new levies, Robert exerted the influence of gifts and promises, the terrors of civil and ecclesiastical authority; and some acts of violence might justify the reproach, that age and infamy were pressed without distinction into the service of their unrelenting prince. After two years incessant preparations, the land and naval forces were assembled at Otranto, at the heel, or extreme promontory of Italy; and Robert was accompanied by his wife, who fought by his side, his son Bohemond, and the representative of the emperor Michael. Thirteen hundred knights\* of Norman race or discipline, formed the sinews of the army, which might be swelled to thirty thousand followers of every denomination. The men, the horses, the arms, the engines, the wooden towers, covered with raw hides, were embarked on board one hundred and fifty vessels: the transports had been built in the ports of Italy, and the galleys were supplied by the alliance of the republic of Ragusa.

At the mouth of the Adriatic gulf, the shores <sup>coast of</sup> of Italy and Epirus incline towards each other. <sup>Durazzo, i. e. 1841, 1 mile 17.</sup> The space between Brundisium and Durazzo, the Roman passage, is no more than one hundred

\* *Ipsa crux et milia non pluresque* were written round Jerusalem, at its fall under the turkish interference of the emperor (Murtzel, l. 6, c. 24, p. 386). These are the same whom the Apollon (l. iv. p. 218) styles the *apollon* *gros durs*, against its gods *durs*.

\* *Et quatuor milia*, says Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. 4, p. 27), and her account tallies with the number and being of the ships. For in *Hydruntum cum* *et milibus hominum*, says the Chronicle *Beati Normanni* (Murtzel, Scriptores, tom. 7, p. 218). I have endeavored to reconcile these reckonings.

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miles ; at the last station of Otranto, it is contracted to fifty ; and this narrow distance had suggested to Pyrrhus and Pompey the sublime or extravagant idea of a bridge. Before the general embarkation, the Norman duke dispatched Bohemund with fifteen galleys to seize or threaten the island of Corfu, to survey the opposite coast, and to secure an harbour in the neighbourhood of Vallone for the landing of the troops. They passed and landed without perceiving an enemy ; and this successful experiment displayed the neglect and decay of the naval power of the Greeks. The islands of Epirus and the maritime towns were subdued by the arms or the name of Robert, who led his fleet and army from Corfu (I use the modern appellation) to the siege of Durazzo. That city, the western key of the empire, was garrisoned by ancient renown, and recent fortifications, by George Palaiologus, a patrician, victorious in the Oriental wars, and a numerous garrison of Albanians and Macedonians, who in every age, have maintained the character of soldiers. In the prosecution of his enterprise, the courage of Gaiscault was assailed by every form of danger and

1. The *University of Tennessee* (p. 400, n. 34). Wang Hongyao cited a tree and a smaller species of a *Clusia* genus, as one *Wangsheng* species, which is strongly doubted by Shiao (Li, p. 417), and Ping, (*Chin. Nature*, n. 17).

[illegible]

mischance. In the most propitious season of the year, as his fleet passed along the coast, a storm of wind and snow unexpectedly arose: the Adriatic was swelled by the raging blast of the south, and a new shipwreck confirmed the old infamy of the Acroceraunian rocks.<sup>1</sup> The sails, the masts, and the oars, were shattered or torn away: the sea and shore were covered with the fragments of vessels, with arms and dead bodies; and the greatest part of the provisions were either drowned or damaged. The ducal galley was laboriously rescued from the waves, and Robert halted seven days on the adjacent cape, to collect the relics of his loss and revive the drooping spirits of his soldiers. The Normans were no longer the bold and experienced mariners who had explored the ocean from Greenland to mount Atlas, and who smiled at the petty dangers of the Mediterranean. They had wept during the tempest: they were alarmed by the hostile approach of the Venetians, who had been solicited by the prayers and promises of the Byzantine court. The first day's action was not disadvantageous to Bohemond, a heedless youth,<sup>2</sup> who led the naval powers of his father. All night the galleys of the republic lay on their anchors in the form of a crescent; and

\* *Ichneumon strabus* Latreille, *Ichneumon*, 1813, p. 1, 2. The penultimate African *Ichneumon* Apollonides at Athens, Sicily, and the insectary materials of the Adriatic, are somewhat enlarged; but Hagen's description for the life of Virgil, is an interesting monument in the history of poetry and entomology.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitly we may suppose were *apud Romanos* (Tacitus, l. iv, p. 106). Yet the Normans stayed, and the Venetians were their hosts; they must have decided the no-head of Hubertus! an *heresiologia*? (*Dumagey, Ann. ad Alfrid.*, p. 273).



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\*\*\*\*\*

the victory of the second day was decided by the dexterity of their evolutions, the station of their archers, the weight of their javelins, and the borrowed aid of the Greek fire. The Apulian and Ragusian vessels fled to the shore; several were cut from their cables and dragged away by the conqueror; and a sally from the town carried slaughter and dismay to the tents of the Norman duke. A seasonable relief was poured into Durazzo, and as soon as the besiegers had lost the command of the sea, the islands and maritime towns withdrew from the camp the supply of tribute and provision. That camp was soon afflicted with a pestilential disease: five hundred knights perished by an inglorious death; and the list of burials (if all could obtain a decent burial) amounted to ten thousand persons. Under these calamities, the mind of Guiscard alone was firm and invincible; and while he collected new forces from Apulia and Sicily, he battered, or scaled, or sipped, the walls of Durazzo. But his industry and valour were encountered by equal valour and more perfect industry. A moveable turret, of a size and capacity to contain five hundred soldiers, had been rolled forwards to the foot of the rampart: but the descent of the door or drawbridge was checked by an enormous beam, and the wooden structure was instantly consumed by artificial flames.

The army  
and march  
of the  
emperor  
Alexius,  
April—  
September.

While the Roman empire was attacked by the Turks to the east and the Normans in the west, the aged successor of Michael surrendered the sceptre to the hands of Alexius, an illustrious

captain, and the founder of the Comnenian dynasty. The princess Anne, his daughter and historian, observes, in her affected style, that even Hercules was unequal to a double combat; and, on this principle, she approves an hasty peace with the Turks, which allowed her father to undertake in person the relief of Daruzza. On his accession, Alexius found the camp without soldiers, and the treasury without money: yet such were the vigour and activity of his measures, that in six months he assembled an army of seventy thousand men,\* and performed a march of five hundred miles. His troops were levied in Europe and Asia, from Peloponnesus to the Black sea; his majesty was displayed in the silver arms and rich trappings of the companies of horse-guards; and the emperor was attended by a train of nobles and princes, some of whom, in rapid succession, had been clothed with the purple, and were indulged by the lenity of the times in a life of affluence and dignity. Their youthful ardour might animate the multitude; but their love of pleasure and contempt of subordination were pregnant with disorder and mischief: and their importunate clamours for speedy and decisive action disconcerted the prudence of

\* Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. iv. p. 136, 137), observes, that some authors (Petrus Blesensis, Chron. Caput. l. iii. c. 45) compute the Greek army at 170,000 men, but that the founder only brought off, and that Malactera only retained 70,000; a slight distinction. The passage to which he alludes is in the Chronicle of Leque Prebende (Script. Hist. tom. i. p. 145). Malactera (l. iv. c. 37) speaks so high, but sometimes, in the name of the emperor, can repeat insupportable lies like the *Agallas* poet D. iv. p. 112.

Here sequentibus numeris et plura referuntur.

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Alexius, who might have surrounded and starved the besieging army. The enumeration of provinces recalls a sad comparison of the past and present limits of the Roman world: the raw levies were drawn together in haste and terror, and the garrisons of Anatolia, or Asia Minor, had been purchased by the evacuation of the cities which were immediately occupied by the Turks. The strength of the Greek army consisted in the Varangians, the Scandinavian guards, whose numbers were recently augmented by a rabby of exiles and volunteers from the British island of Thule. Under the yoke of the Norman conqueror, the Danes and English were oppressed and united: a band of adventurous youths resolved to desert a land of slavery; the sea was open to their escape; and, in their long pilgrimage, they visited every coast that afforded any hope of liberty and revenge. They were entertained in the service of the Greek emperor; and their first station was in a new city on the Asiatic shore: but Alexius soon recalled them to the defence of his person and palace; and bequeathed to his successors the inheritance of their faith and valour.\* The name of a Norman invader revived the memory of their wrongs: they marched with alacrity against the national foe, and panted to regain, in Epirus, the glory which they had lost in the battle of Hastings. The

\* The Willam of Walsbury de Greys Anglorum, l. ii, p. 62, Abbas Sicut Anglorum in illis pueris famulantes fide eos appellat, amicos suos in iustitiam. Odericus Vitalis Hist. Eccles. l. iv, p. 102, l. vii, p. 111; relates their emigration from England, and their service in Greece.



Varangians were supported by some companies of Franks or Latins; and the rebels, who had fled to Constantinople from the tyranny of Guiscard, were eager to signalise their zeal and gratify their revenge. In this emergency the emperor had not disdained the impure aid of the pagans or manicheans of Thrace and Bulgaria: and these heretics united with the patience of martyrdom, the spirit and discipline of active valour.<sup>a</sup> The treaty with the sultan had procured a supply of some thousand Turks; and the arrows of the Scythian horse were opposed to the lancers of the Norman cavalry. On the report and distant prospect of these formidable numbers, Robert assembled a council of his principal officers. "You behold," said he, "your danger: it is urgent and inevitable. The hills are covered with arms and standards; and the emperor of the Greeks is accustomed to wars and triumphs. Obedience and union are our only safety; and I am ready to yield the command to a more worthy leader." The vote and acclamation, even of his secret enemies, assured him, in that perilous moment, of their esteem and confidence; and the duke thus continued: "Let us trust in the rewards of victory, and deprive cowardice of the means of escape. Let us burn our vessels and our baggage, and give battle on this spot, as if it were the place of our nativity and our burial." The resolution was unanimously approved; and without con-

<sup>a</sup> See the Apollon, V. l. p. 234. The character and story of these manicheans has been the subject of the 34th chapter.

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fining himself to his lines, Guiscard awaited in battle-array the nearer approach of the enemy. His rear was covered by a small river; his right wing extended to the sea; his left to the hills: nor was he conscious, perhaps, that on the same ground Caesar and Pompey had formerly disputed the empire of the world.\*

Battle of  
Durazzo,  
A. D. 1081,  
October 18.

Against the advice of his wisest captains, Alex-  
his resolved to risk the event of a general action,  
and exhorted the garrison of Durazzo to assist  
their own deliverance by a well-timed sally from  
the town. He marched in two columns to sur-  
prise the Normans before day-break on two dif-  
ferent sides: his light cavalry was scattered over  
the plain: the archers formed the second line;  
and the Varangians claimed the honours of the  
van-guard. In the first onset, the battle-axes of  
the strangers made a deep and bloody impression  
on the army of Guiscard, which was now reduc-  
ed to fifteen thousand men. The Lombards and  
Calabrians ignominiously turned their backs;  
they fled towards the river and the sea; but the  
bridge had been broken down to check the sally of  
the garrison, and the coast was lined with the  
Venetian galleys, who played their engines among  
the disorderly throng. On the verge of ruin,  
they were saved by the spirit and conduct of their  
chiefs. Gaita, the wife of Robert, is painted by  
the Greeks as a warlike Amazon, a second Pul-  
las; less skillful in arts, but not less terrible in

\* See the simple and interesting narrative of Count himself (Count Robert) in Bell. L'Écl. iii. 41-702. It is a pity that Guiscard's troops (the Guiscardians) did not live to witness these operations, as he has done the campaigns of Africa and Spain.

arms, than the Athenian goddess: \* though wounded by an arrow, she stood her ground, and strove, by her exhortation and example, to rally the flying troops." Her female voice was seconded by the more powerful voice and arm of the Norman duke, as calm in action as he was magnanimous in council: "Whither," he cried aloud, "whither do ye fly? your enemy "is implacable: and death is less grievous than "servitude." The moment was decisive: as the Varangians advanced before the line, they discovered the weakness of their flanks; the main battle of the duke, of eight hundred knights, stood firm and entire: they couched their lances, and the Greeks deplore the furious and irresistible shock of the French cavalry.† Alexis was not deficient in the duties of a soldier or a general;

\* *ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἡ δὲ θεὸς ἦν ἄρσενος*, which is very properly translated by the present *Camille* (*Ann. de Constantinople*, tom. iv., p. 131; in French, *son commandement venoit sous l'escu de France, qui estoit en l'air par son bras armé qui estoit d'athènes*). The Greek goddess was composed of two different characters: of *Νίκη*, the winged woman of Samos & Cyprus, and of *εὐαγλία* *Amazons* of the Troad; like *Lyla* (*Hesiod. Mythologia*, tom. iv., p. 1-31; in French).

† *Anna Comnena* (l. ix., p. 116) admits, with some degree of scorn, her martial virtues. They were more familiar to the Latins; and though the *Apollon* (l. vi., p. 273) mentions her prowess and her wound, he represents her as far less intrepid.

What is her battle? What is her sword?

Quel est son bras? Quel est son escu?

Quel est son bras? Quel est son escu?

The last is an unlikely word for a female person.

† *ἡ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπερβαλὼν πάντα θύραυς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔκρινεν τὸν ποταμὸν ἔκρινεν τὸν ποταμὸν* (*Ann. l. vi., p. 133*); and elsewhere *ἡ βασιλεὺς ἔκρινεν τὸν ποταμὸν ἔκρινεν τὸν ποταμὸν* (*ibid.* p. 140). The primary of the phrase is the choice of double appellations, *εὐαγλία* & *Νίκη*, apply to the resemblance the characters of the ancient Gods.



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but he no sooner beheld the slaughter of the Varangians, and the flight of the Turks, than he despised his subjects and despaired of his fortune. The princess Anne, who drops a tear on this melancholy event, is reduced to praise the strength and swiftness of her father's horse, and his vigorous struggle, when he was almost overthrown by the stroke of a lance, which had shivered the imperial helmet. His desperate valour broke through a squadron of Franks who opposed his flight; and, after wandering two days and as many nights in the mountains, he found some repose of body, though not of mind, in the walls of Lychnidus. The victorious Robert reproached the tardy and feeble pursuit which had suffered the escape of so illustrious a prize; but he consoled his disappointment by the trophies and standards of the field, the wealth and luxury of the Byzantine camp, and the glory of defeating an army five times more numerous than his own. A multitude of Italians had been the victims of their own fears; but only thirty of his knights were slain in this memorable day. In the Roman host, the loss of Greeks, Turks, and English, amounted to five or six thousand; the plain of Durazzo was stained with noble and royal blood; and the end of the impostor Michael was more honourable than his life.

<sup>1</sup> *Byzantine Prætorian* (1800), II. p. 45, says 6000; William the Apollon more than 2000 (II. i., p. 772). Their numbers are singular and fabulous; they fight with as little trouble as men who in those periods of schism and infidelity!

It is more than probable that Guiscard was not afflicted by the loss of a costly pageant, which had merited only the contempt and derision of the Greeks. After their defeat they still persevered in the defence of Durazzo; and a Venetian commander supplied the place of George Palæologus, who had been imprudently called away from his station. The tents of the besiegers were converted into barracks, to sustain the inclemency of the winter; and in answer to the defiance of the garrison. Robert insinuated, that his patience was at least equal to their obstinacy.\* Perhaps he already trusted to his secret correspondence with a Venetian noble, who sold the city for a rich and honourable marriage. At the dead of night several rope-ladders were dropped from the walls; the light Calabrians ascended in silence; and the Greeks were awakened by the name and trumpets of the conqueror. Yet they defended the street three days against an enemy already master of the rampart; and near seven months elapsed between the first investment and the final surrender of the place. From Durazzo, the Norman duke advanced into the heart of Epirus or Albania; traversed the first mountains of Thessaly; surprised three hundred English in the city of Castoria; approached Thessalonica; and made Constantinople tremble. A more pressing duty sus-

CHAP.  
LVI.Durazzo  
taken,  
A.D. 1082,  
Feb. 2.

\* The Slangues had changed the improper name of *Epilaurum* to *Dysmachium* (Ella. II, 26); and the vulgar corruption of *Dafodion* (see *Malabarrey* has some affinity to *Ardenne*. One of Robert's names was *Dardanel*, a derivative from *ard* (Athen. *Musick in China*, apud *Martini* *Annali d'Italia*, tom. ix., p. 137).

CHAP.  
LVI.

Return of  
Robert,  
and actions  
of Bohemund.

pended the prosecution of his ambitious designs. By shipwreck, pestilence, and the sword, his army was reduced to a third of the original numbers; and instead of being recruited from Italy, he was informed, by plaintive epistles, of the mischiefs and dangers which had been produced by his absence: the revolt of the cities and barons of Apulia; the distress of the pope; and the approach or invasion of Henry king of Germany. Highly presuming that his person was sufficient for the public safety, he repassed the sea in a single brigantine, and left the remains of the army under the command of his son and the Norman counts, exhorting Bohemund to respect the freedom of his peers, and the counts to obey the authority of their leader. The son of Guiscard trod in the footsteps of his father; and the two destroyers are compared, by the Greeks, to the caterpillar and the locust, the last of whom devours whatever has escaped the teeth of the former.<sup>1</sup> After winning two battles against the emperor, he descended into the plain of Thessaly, and besieged Larissa, the fabulous realm of Achilles,<sup>2</sup> which contained the treasure and magazines of the Byzantine camp. Yet

<sup>1</sup> *Robert was compared to the caterpillar, and Henry (Annales, l. iv. p. 25). By these similes, so different from those of Homer, the authors in language contempt as well as interest for the little eastern emir, a conqueror. Most unfortunately, the confusion between, or mixture of names, of emirates, without any similar design.*

<sup>2</sup> *Proba hic autem Trojana claudis Achilles. The supposition of the Apollon (l. vi. p. 273) may be viewed by a more exact study of Virgil (Æneid. ii. 107). Larissæum Achilles, but it is not justified by the geography of Homer.*



A just praise must not be refused to the fortitude and prudence of Alexius, who bravely struggled with the calamities of the times. In the poverty of the state, he presumed to borrow the superfluous ornaments of the churches; the desertion of the manufacturers was supplied by some tribes of Moldavia; a reinforcement of seven thousand Turks replaced and revenged the loss of their brethren; and the Greek soldiers were exercised to ride, to draw the bow, and to the daily practice of ambuscades and evolutions. Alexius had been taught by experience, that the formidable cavalry of the Franks on foot was unfit for action, and almost incapable of motion; his archers were directed to aim their arrows at the horse rather than the man; and a variety of spikes and snares was scattered over the ground on which he might expect an attack. In the neighbourhood of Larissa the events of war were protracted and balanced. The courage of Bohemund was always conspicuous, and often successful; but his camp was pillaged by a stratagem of the Greeks; the city was impregnable; and the venal or discontented counts deserted his standard, betrayed their trusts, and enlisted in the service of the emperor. Alexius returned to Constantinople with the advantage, rather than the ho-

<sup>1</sup> The two *girdles* mentioned, which adorned the knights as first, have been ignorantly translated *spurs* (Omnium Communis Alerius, l. v. p. 146). Dureau has explained the true sense by a rich and inconsistent fashion which lasted from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. These girds, in the form of a scapular, were some times two feet, and fastened in the same with a silver clasp.

CHAP. LVI.  
 hour, of victory. After evacuating the conquests which he could no longer defend, the son of Guiscard embarked for Italy, and was embraced by a father who esteemed his merit, and sympathised in his misfortune.

The emperor Henry III. invited by the Greeks, A. D. 1081.  
 Of the Latin princes, the allies of Alexius and enemies of Robert, the most prompt and powerful was Henry the third or fourth, king of Germany and Italy, and future emperor of the West. The epistle of the Greek monarch<sup>a</sup> to his brother is filled with the warmest professions of friendship, and the most lively desire of strengthening their alliance by every public and private tie. He congratulates Henry on his success in a just and pious war, and complains that the prosperity of his own empire is disturbed by the audacious enterprises of the Norman Robert. The list of his presents expresses the manners of the age, a radiated crown of gold, a cross set with pearls to hang on the breast, a case of relics, with the names and titles of the saints, a vase of crystal, a vase of sardonyx, some balm, most probably of Mecca, and one hundred pieces of purple. To these he added a more solid present, of one hundred and forty-four thousand Byzantines of gold, with a farther assurance of two hundred and sixteen thousand, so soon as Henry should have entered in arms

<sup>a</sup> The epistle itself (Alexius, l. ii. p. 93, 94, 95), well deserves to be read. There is one expression, *ἀσπίδα χρυσήν μετ' ὀφθαλμοῦ* which Dureau does not understand. I have understood it grossly, not a miserable mistake; *ἀσπίς* is a golden shield; *ἀσπίδα μετ' ὀφθαλμοῦ* is explained by Simeon Metaphrastes on Lucian's *Græci*, Bæcher, Jr. by *ἀσπίς ὀφθαλμοῦ*, a shield of shining.

the Apulian territories, and confirmed by an oath the league against the common enemy. The German,\* who was already in Lombardy at the head of an army and a faction, accepted these liberal offers, and marched towards the south; his speed was checked by the sound of the battle of Durazzo; but the influence of his arms or name, in the hasty return of Robert, was a full equivalent for the Grecian bribe. Henry was the severe adversary of the Normans, the allies and vassals of Gregory the seventh, his implacable foe. The long quarrel of the throne and mitre had been recently kindled by the zeal and ambition of that haughty priest; the king and the pope had degraded each other; and each had seated a rival on the temporal or spiritual throne of his antagonist. After the defeat and death of his Swabian rebel, Henry descended into Italy, to assume the imperial crown, and to drive from the Vatican the tyrant of the church.† But the Roman people ad-

\* For these general events I must refer to the general histories, *Regulus*, *Baronius*, *Musæus*, *Monheim*, &c. *St. Mart.*, &c.

† The lives of Gregory, on one either legends or inventions (*St. Mart.*, *Alenigh*, *tom.* III, p. 233, &c.) and his misprisions or imagined performances are still incredible to modern readers. He is still, as usual, and with justification in *Le Clerc* (*Vie de Bénédict*), *Bédard*, authors of moderns, *tom.* viii, and most accurately in *Bayle* (*Dictionnaire Critique*, *Gregoire* 110). That pope was undoubtedly a great character, a saint, *Athanasius*, in a more fortunate age of the church. May I permit me to add, that the portrait of St. Athanasius is one of the passages in my history (vol. III, p. 355, &c.) with which I am the least dissatisfied.

‡ Anna, with the exception of a Greek schismatic, collects a numerous series *Anna II*, t. 1, p. 321, a pope, a priest, a copy to be sent upon 1 and 4 months.



CHAP.  
LVIBenigra  
Rome,  
A. D. 1061  
-1064.A. D. 1064,  
March 31.  
— 21.  
— 31.

hered to the cause of Gregory : their resolution was fortified by supplies of men and money from Apulia ; and the city was thrice ineffectually besieged by the king of Germany. In the fourth year he corrupted, as it is said, with Byzantine gold, the nobles of Rome, whose estates and castles had been ruined by the war. The gates, the bridges, and fifty hostages, were delivered into his hands : the antipope, Clement the third, was consecrated in the Lateran ; the grateful pontiff crowned his protector in the Vatican ; and the emperor Henry fixed his residence in the capital, as the lawful successor of Augustus and Charlemagne. The ruins of the Septizonium were still defended by the nephew of Gregory - the pope himself was invested in the castle of St. Angelo ; and his last hope was in the courage and fidelity of his Norman vassal. Their friendship had been interrupted by some reciprocal injuries and complaints ; but, on this pressing occasion, Guiscard was urged by the obligation of his oath, by his interest, more potent than oaths, by the love of fame, and his vanity to the two emperors. Unfurling the holy banner, he resolved to fly to the relief of the prince of the apostles : the most numerous of his armies, six thousand horse, and thirty-thousand foot, was instantly assembled ; and his march from Salerno to Rome was animated by the public applause and the promise of the divine favour. Henry, invincible in sixty-six battles, trembled

across him of *conquering, daring, perhaps of converting*, the emissaries of Henry (p. 31, 32). But this passage is inapplicable and scandalous (see the sensible preface of Coxe).

CHAP.  
LVL.Fifty before  
Robert;  
days.

at his approach; recollected some indispensable affairs that required his presence in Lombardy; exhorted the Romans to persevere in their allegiance; and hastily retreated three days before the entrance of the Normans. In less than three years, the son of Tancred of Hauteville enjoyed the glory of delivering the pope, and of compelling the two emperors of the East and West to fly before his victorious arms.\* But the triumph of Robert was clouded by the calamities of Rome. By the aid of the friends of Gregory, the walls had been perforated or scaled; but the imperial faction was still powerful and active; on the third day, the people rose in a furious tumult; and an hasty word of the conqueror, in his defence or revenge, was the signal of fire and pillage.† The Saracens of Sicily, the subjects of Roger, and auxiliaries of his brother, embraced this fair occasion of rising and profaning the holy city of the christians: many thousands of the citizens, in the sight, and by the allies, of their spiritual Father, were exposed to violation, captivity, or death; and a spacious

7

*Sic uno tempore victi  
virescentes domini domus, et Alamanni tota,  
Impati recte Romani murmurant ibi.  
Aster autem regis regis regis regis / et alios  
Nomine regis regis regis regis.*

It is impossible enough, that the Apostles, a Latin, and a Greek, should distinguish the Greek as the ruler of the Roman empire (l. v. p. 378).

\* The narrative of Malaterra (l. iii. c. 37, p. 367, 368) is authentic, circumstantial, and full. The *ignem circumdare ante regem*, &c. The Apostles witness the march of the *grecorum* and the *latini*. Which is again suggested in some partial literature (M. de la Roche, l. viii. c. 14, p. 147).

CHAP.  
LVI.

quarter of the city, from the Lateran to the Coliseum, was consumed by the flames, and devoted to perpetual solitude.\* From a city, where he was now hated, and might be no longer feared, Gregory retired to end his days in the palace of Salerno. The artful pontiff might flatter the vanity of Guiscard, with the hope of a Roman or imperial crown; but this dangerous measure, which would have inflamed the ambition of the Norman, must for ever have alienated the most faithful princes of Germany.

Second ex-  
pedition of  
Robert into  
Germany,  
a. d. 1054.  
October

The deliverer and scourge of Rome might have indulged himself in a season of repose: but in the same year of the flight of the German emperor, the indefatigable Robert resumed the design of his eastern conquests. The zeal or gratitude of Gregory had promised to his valour the kingdoms of Greece and Asia;<sup>1</sup> his troops were assembled in arms, flushed with success, and eager for action. Their numbers, in the language of Homer, are compared by Anna to a swarm of bees;<sup>2</sup> yet the utmost and mo-

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> The reality of Robert's claim, promised, or bestowed, by the pope (Ann. 144, p. 38), is sufficiently confirmed by the Apollon D.D., p. 179 (Hammam) with the preceding passage.

**First Class Air Service**

Now, as I understand why Clarendon, and the other royal advocates, should be disappointed with this new historical introduction.

<sup>2</sup> See Holmes, *Id.* R. It has the probable sense of quotation for the letters of the word *apostrophe* (π), &c. It has the same sense



derate limits of the powers of Guiscard have been already defined: they were contained on this second occasion in one hundred and twenty vessels; and as the season was far advanced, the harbour of Brundisium\* was preferred to the open road of Otranto. Alexius, apprehensive of a second attack, had assiduously laboured to restore the naval forces of the empire; and obtained from the republic of Venice an important succour of thirty-six transports, fourteen galleys, and nine galeots or ships of extraordinary strength and magnitude. Their services were liberally paid by the licence or monopoly of trade, a profitable gift of many shops and houses in the port of Constantinople, and a tribute to St. Mark, the more acceptable as it was the produce of a tax on their rivals of Anaplû. By the union of the Greeks and Venetians, the Adriatic was covered with an hostile fleet; but their own neglect, or the vigilance of Robert, the change of a wind, or the shelter of a mist, opened a free passage: and the Norman troops were safely disembarked on the coast of Epirus. With twenty strong and well-appointed galleys, their intrepid duke immediately sought the enemy, and though more accustomed to fight on horseback, he trusted his

of a disorderly crowd: their displaying and putting to sea seem to be the ideas of a later age (Virgil Æneid. 4. 16).

\* Guillelm. Appulius, l. 7, p. 478. The admirable port of Brundisium was double; the outward harbour was a gulf covered by an island, and narrowing by degrees, till it communicated by a small gulf with the inner harbour, which enclosed the city on both sides. Causes and nature have laboured for its ruin; and again with vigour, what are the feeble efforts of the Neapolitan government? (Strabo's travels in the Two Sicilies, vol. 4, p. 384-385.)

CHAP.  
LVI.

\*\*\*\*\*

own life, and the lives of his brother and two sons, to the event of a naval combat. The dominion of the sea was disputed in three engagements, in sight of the island of Corfu: in the two former, the skill and number of the allies were superior; but in the third, the Normans obtained a final and complete victory.<sup>2</sup> The light frigantines of the Greeks were scattered in ignominious flight: the nine castles of the Venetians maintained a more obstinate conflict; seven were sunk, two weretaken; two thousand five hundred captives implored in vain the mercy of the victor; and the daughter of Alexius deplores the loss of thirteen thousand of his subjects or allies. The want of experience had been supplied by the genius of Guiscard; and each evening, when he had rounded a retreat, he calmly explored the causes of his repulse, and invented new methods how to remedy his own defects, and to baffle the advantages of the enemy. The winter season suspended his progress: with the return of spring he again aspired to the conquest of Constantinople; but, instead of traversing the hills of Epirus, he turned his arms against Greece and the islands, where the spoils would repay the labour, and where the land and sea forces might pursue their joint operations with vigour and effect. But, in the isle of Cephalonia, his pro-

<sup>2</sup> William of Apulia (l. v. p. 319) describes the victory of the Normans, and forgets the two previous defeats, which are diligently recorded by Anna Comnena (l. vi. p. 139, 160, 161). In her turn, she invents or exaggerates a fourth action, to give the Venetians revenge and rewards. Their own feelings were far different, since they despised their doge's proper enemies still (Dandolo in Chron. in Muratori, Scripta Rerum Italianarum, tom. 26, p. 349).

jects were fatally blasted by an epidemical disease; Robert himself, in the seventieth year of his age, expired in his tent; and a suspicion of poison was imputed, by public rumour, to his wife, or to the Greek emperor.\* This premature death might allow a boundless scope for the imagination of his future exploits: and the event sufficiently declares, that the Norman greatness was founded on his life.\* Without the appearance of an enemy, a victorious army dispersed or retreated in disorder and consternation; and Alexius, who had trembled for his empire, rejoiced in his deliverance. The galley which transported the remains of Guiscard was shipwrecked on the Italian shore: but the duke's body was recovered from the sea, and deposited in the sepulchre of Venusia,<sup>b</sup> a place more illustrious for the birth of

CHAP.  
LVI

His death.  
A. D. 1085,  
July 17.

\* The most authentic writers, William of Apulia (l. v. 217), Jeffrey Malaterra (l. iii. c. 31, p. 489), and Raimond of Salerno (l. i. c. 10, in Miræto's Script. Norm. Ital. tom. 6.), are ignorant of this story, and ascribe to his countrymen William of Malaterra (l. iii. p. 107), and Roger de Hoveden (p. 110, in Script. post Radum): and the latter can tell, how the just Alexius married, crowned, and buried alive, his female accomplice. The English historian is indeed so blind, that he ranks Robert Guiscard, or Wiscard, among the knights of Henry I., who survived the prince fifteen years after the date of Apulia's death.

\* The joyful Anne Comnene waters some flowers over the grave of an enemy (Alexiad. l. v. p. 162-163); and his last prize is the esteem and envy of William the conqueror, the sovereign of his family: *Græcia regis Malaterræ hostium incensibilis ibera late quærit: Apulia tum sine Calabria torbator.*

\* *Ubi Venusia nunc stans decorata sepulchris,*  
is one of the last lines of the Apulian's poem (l. v. p. 278). William of Malaterra (l. iii. p. 107) inserts an epitaph for Guiscard: which is not worth transcribing.



CHAP. LVI. Horace,\* than for the burial of the Norman  
 heroes. Roger, his second son and successor,  
 immediately sunk to the humble station of a  
 duke of Apulia: the esteem or partiality of his  
 father left the valiant Bohemond to the inheri-  
 tance of his sword. The national tranquillity was  
 disturbed by his claims, till the first crusade  
 against the Infidels of the east opened a more  
 splendid field of glory and conquest.<sup>2</sup>

Reign and  
 annals of  
 Roger, great  
 count of  
 Sicily,  
 c. a. 1101  
 -1154,  
 Feb. 26.

Of human life, the most glorious or humble  
 prospects are alike and soon bounded by the  
 sepulchre. The male line of Robert Guiscard  
 was extinguished, both in Apulia and at Antioch,  
 in the second generation; but his younger bro-  
 ther became the father of a line of kings; and  
 the son of the great count was endowed with  
 the name, the conquests, and the spirit of the  
 first Roger.<sup>3</sup> The heir of that Norman ad-  
 venturer was born in Sicily; and, at the age  
 of only four years, he succeeded to the sove-  
 reignty of the island, a lot which reason might  
 envy, could she indulge for a moment the vi-

\* Yet Horace had few obligations to Venus: he was carried to Rome in his childhood (Serm. 1. 6. 4. and his repeated allusions to the doubtful Rites of Apulia and Lucania (Carm. lib. 1. Serm. 1. 1) are worthy of burlesque and parody.

<sup>2</sup> See *Chronicon Norm.* li. p. 28-33. and the historians of the first crusade.

<sup>3</sup> The reign of Roger, and the Norman Kings of Sicily, fill four books of the *Historia Civitatis et Imperii* (Rom. 6. l. xlviii. p. 136-340), and is spread over the 7th and 10th volumes of the Italian *Annali di Muratori*. In the *Historia Regni Italique* (Rom. 1. p. 573-587), I find an useful abstract of Cusanius, a modern Neapolitan, who has com-  
 posed, in two volumes, the history of his country from Roger 1. to  
*Friedrich II.* inclusive.

sionary, though virtuous, wish of dominion. CHAP.  
LVI  
 Had Roger been content with his fruitful pa-  
 trimony, un-happy and grateful people might  
 have blessed their benefactor; and, if a wise  
 administration could have restored the prosperous  
 times of the Greek colonies, the opulence  
 and power of Sicily alone might have equalled  
 the widest scope that could be acquired and de-  
 solated by the sword of war. But the ambition  
 of the great count was ignorant of these noble  
 pursuits; it was gratified by the vulgar means  
 of violence and artifice. He sought to obtain  
 the undivided possession of Palermo, of which a  
 moiety had been ceded to the elder branch;  
 struggled to enlarge his Calabrian limits beyond  
 the measure of former treaties; and impatiently  
 watched the declining health of his cousin William  
 of Apulia, the grandson of Robert. On the first  
 intelligence of his premature death, Roger sailed (Died of  
April 2,  
A. D. 1177.)  
 from Palermo with seven galleys, cast anchor in  
 the bay of Salerno, received, after ten days ne-  
 gociation, an oath of fidelity from the Norman  
 capital, commanded the submission of the barons,  
 and extorted a legal investiture from the reluct-  
 ant-popes, who could not long endure either the  
 friendship or enmity of a powerful vassal. The  
 sacred spot of Benevento was respectfully spared,  
 as the patrimony of St. Peter: but the reduction

\* According to the testimony of Palladius and Dioscorus, the typical  
 Diapirus of Syracuse could maintain a standing force of 10,000  
 horses, 100,000 foot, and 400 galleys. Compare Horne (Knights, vol.  
 4, p. 258, 325, and his adversary Walter Chaworth of Macclesfield, p.  
 306, 307). The rules of Agrigento are the theme of every travel-  
 ler, d'Orville, Baldach, Spachmann, &c.

CHAP.  
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of Capua and Naples completed the design of his uncle Guiscard; and the sole inheritance of the Norman conquests was possessed by the victorious Roger. A conscious superiority of power and merit prompted him to disdain the titles of duke and of count; and the isle of Sicily, with a third perhaps of the continent of Italy, might form the basis of a kingdom\* which would only yield to the monarchies of France and England. The chiefs of the nation who attended his coronation at Palermo might doubtless pronounce under what name he should reign over them; but the example of a Greek tyrant or a Saracen emir were insufficient to justify his regal character; and the nine kings of the Latin world† might disclaim their new associate, unless he were consecrated by the authority of the supreme pontiff. The pride of Anacletus was pleased to confer a title, which the pride of the Norman had stooped to solicit;‡ but his own legitimacy was attacked by the adverse election of Innocent the second; and while Anacletus sat in the Vatican, the auc-

First king  
of Sicily,  
A. D. 1130.  
Died 25—  
A. D. 1138,  
July 25.

\* A contemporary historian of the arms of Roger from the year 1127 to 1132, founds his title on merit and power, the extent of the conquest, and the ancient royalty of Sicily and Palermo, without introducing pope Anacletus (Alexand. Cusani Telerici Abbatis de Romanis gentis Regis Rogeris, lib. iv. in Muratori, Script. Histor. Ital. tom. v. p. 497-545).

† The kings of France, England, Scotland, Castile, Aragon, Saxony, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary. The three last were more solemn than Charlemagne; the three next were crowned by their sword, the three last by their scepter; and of these the king of Hungary alone was crowned or crowned by a papal cross.

‡ Paschalis, and a crowd of simoniacs, had struggled a long while and independent excommunication, v. 1130, May 13, which Innocent was willing to



cessful fugitive was acknowledged by the nations of Europe. The infant monarchy of Roger was shaken, and almost overthrown, by the unlucky choice of an ecclesiastical patron: and the sword of Lothaire the second of Germany, the excommunications of Innocent, the fleets of Pisa, and the zeal of St. Bernard, were united for the ruin of the Sicilian robber. After a gallant resistance, the Norman prince was driven from the continent of Italy; a new duke of Apulia was invested by the pope and the emperor, each of whom held one end of the *gonfalon*, or flag-staff, as a token that they asserted their right, and suspended their quarrel. But such jealous friendship was of short and precarious duration: the German armies soon vanished in disease and desertion;<sup>1</sup> the Apulian duke, with all his adherents, was exterminated by a conqueror, who seldom forgave either the dead or the living: like his predecessor Leo the ninth, the feeble though haughty pontiff became the captive and friend of the Normans; and their reconciliation was celebrated by the eloquence of Bernard, who now revered the title and virtues of the king of Sicily.

As a penance for this impious war against the successor of St. Peter, that monarch might

His two  
quests in  
Africa.  
l. ii. 1132.  
1134.

rejects (tom. ii. p. 137-141). This notion is supported by the silence of contemporaries: see tom. ii. 46, mentioned by a spurious *Historia* of Musitani (Muratori), *Annali d'Italia*, tom. ix. p. 240. Page, *Critica*, tom. ix. p. 467, 468.

<sup>1</sup> Roger overtook the second portion of Luther's army, who retreated, or rather took, a retreat; for the Germans (says Cincinatus, l. iii. c. 1, p. 43) are ignorant of the use of trumpets. Most ignorant himself!

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have promised to display the banner of the cross, and be accomplished with ardour a vow so propitious to his interest and revenge. The recent injuries of Sicily might provoke a just retaliation on the heads of the Saracens: the Normans, whose blood had been mingled with so many subject streams, were encouraged to remember and emulate the naval trophies of their fathers, and in the maturity of their strength they contended with the decline of an African power. When the Fatimite caliph departed for the conquest of Egypt, he rewarded thermal merit and apparent fidelity of his servant Joseph, with a gift of his royal mantle, and forty Arabian horses, his palace, with its sumptuous furniture, and the government of the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers. The Zeirides, the descendants of Joseph, forgot their allegiance and gratitude to a distant benefactor, grasped and abused the fruits of prosperity; and after running the little course of an oriental dynasty, were now fainting in their own weakness. On the side of the land, they were pressed by the Almohades, the fanatic princes of Morocco, while the sea-coast was open to the enterprises of the Greeks and Franks, who, before the close of the eleventh century, had extorted a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. By the first arms of Roger, the island or rock of Malta, which has been since ennobled by a military and religious colony, was inseparably annexed to the crown

<sup>1</sup> See de Guignes, *Hist. Compendieuse des Huns*, tom. 1, p. 359-370, and Cardouan, *Hist. de l'Afrique, ou, sous la Domination des Arabes*, tom. 2, p. 70-144. Their common original appears to be Nysaen.

of Sicily. Tripoli,<sup>a</sup> a strong and maritime city, <sup>CHÆ</sup>  
 was the next object of his attack; and the slough- <sup>LVL</sup>  
 ter of the males, the captivity of the females, <sup>.....</sup>  
 might be justified by the frequent practice of the  
 moslems themselves. The capital of the Zeirides  
 was named Africa from the country, and Ma-  
 hadia<sup>b</sup> from the Arabian founder: it is strongly  
 built on a neck of land, but the imperfection of  
 the harbour is not compensated by the fertility  
 of the adjacent plain. Mahadia was besieged by  
 George, the Sicilian admiral, with a fleet of one  
 hundred and fifty gallees, amply provided with  
 men and the instruments of mischief: the sove-  
 reign had fled, the Moorish governor refused to  
 capitulate, declined the last and irresistible assault,  
 and secretly escaping with the moslem inhabitants  
 abandoned the place and its treasures to the rapa-  
 cious Franks. In successive expeditions, the  
 king of Sicily or his lieutenants reduced the cities  
 of Tunis, Sfax, Capria, Bonn, and a long track  
 of the sea-coast: the fortresses were garrisoned,  
 the country was tributary, and a boast, that it  
 held Africa in subjection, might be inscribed with

<sup>a</sup> Tripoli says the Arabian geographer, is more properly the  
 Sheriff of Adria (the Gerts, as too more vulgar, are propolis in Latin).  
 Hair expugnata Regem, and mahadiah superbia dicitur, (the year  
 1001).

<sup>b</sup> See the geography of Leo Africanus (in Ramusio, lib. 1, fol. 54,  
 verso, fol. 15, recto, and Shere's Travels, p. 110), the 7th book of  
 Timinus, and the 11th of the Atlas de Cyren. The possession and  
 delivery of the place was offered by Charles V., and wisely declined by  
 the Knights of Malta.

<sup>c</sup> Pagi has accurately marked the African conquests of Rome: and  
 his criticism was supported by his friend the Abbe Lengua, with  
 some Arabic manuscripts (G. R. 1147, No. 26, 27, & c. 1743, No. 10,  
 & c. 1153, No. 10).



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some flattery on the sword of Roger.<sup>2</sup> After his death, that sword was broken; and these transmarine possessions were neglected, evacuated, or lost, under the troubled reign of his successor.<sup>3</sup> The triumphs of Scipio and Belisarius have proved, that the African continent is neither inaccessible nor invincible: yet the great princes and powers of Christendom have repeatedly failed in their armaments against the Moors, who may still glory in the easy conquest and long servitude of Spain.

The Invasion of  
Greece,  
A.D. 1146.

Since the decease of Robert Guiscard, the Normans had relinquished, above sixty years, their hostile designs against the empire of the East. The policy of Roger solicited a public and private union with the Greek princes, whose alliance would dignify his royal character: he demanded in marriage a daughter of the Comnenian family, and the first steps of the treaty seemed to promise a favourable event. But the contemptuous treatment of his ambassadors exasperated the vanity of the new monarch; and the insolence of the Byzantine court was expiated, according to the laws of nations, by the sufferings of a guiltless people.<sup>4</sup> With a fleet of seventy galleys,

<sup>2</sup> Appian at Calaber, *Strabon* nihil servit at Afric.

<sup>3</sup> *præter inscriptionem*, which denotes, that the Norman conquerors were still discriminated from their christian and roman subjects.

<sup>4</sup> *Dugo Palæologus* (*Hist. Nicæne*, in *Manuscript Script.* tom. vii, p. 110, 111) ascribes these losses to the neglect or treachery of the affected Major.

<sup>5</sup> The names of the *Christians* (paganism, who and too soon or begin too late, must be supplied by *Order of Friars*, a German (the *lastly* *Frederick* 1, l. 1, n. 33, in *Manuscript Script.* tom. vi, p. 688), the *Ve-*

George, the admiral of Sicily, appeared before Corfu; and both the island and city were delivered into his hands by the disaffected inhabitants, who had yet to learn that a siege is still more calamitous than a tribute. In this invasion, of some moment in the annals of commerce, the Normans spread themselves by sea, and over the provinces of Greece; and the venerable age of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, was violated by rapine and cruelty. Of the wrongs of Athens, no memorial remains. The ancient walls, which encompassed, without guarding, the opulence of Thebes, were scaled by the Latin christians; but their sole use of the gospel was to sanctify an oath, that the lawful owners had not secreted any relic of their inheritance or industry. On the approach of the Normans the lower town of Corinth was evacuated: the Greeks retired to the citadel, which was seated on a lofty eminence, abundantly watered by the classic fountain of Pirene; an impregnable fortress, if the want of courage could be balanced by any advantages of art or nature. As soon as the besiegers had surmounted the labour (their sole labour) of climbing the hill, their general, from the commanding eminence, admired his own victory, and testified his gratitude to heaven, by tearing from the altar the precious image of Theodora the tutelary saint. The silk weavers of both sexes, whom George transported to Sicily, composed

see also Andrew Dandolo (14, tom. ii, p. 282, 283), and the Greek writers Ducas (l. vi, c. 2-5), and Nicetas (in Manuel, l. vi, c. 1-6).





ing the path of conquest to the navies of the West. He landed some soldiers to rifle the fruits of the royal gardens, and pointed with silver, or more probably with fire, the arrows which he discharged against the palace of the Caesars.<sup>1</sup> This playful outrage of the pirates of Sicily, who had surprised an unguarded moment, Manuel affected to despise, while his martial spirit, and the forces of the empire, were awakened to revenge. The Archipelago and Ionian sea were covered with his squadrons and those of Venice; but I know not by what favourable allowance of transports, victuallers, and pinnaces, our reason, or even our fancy, can be reconciled to the stupendous account of fifteen hundred vessels, which is proposed by a Byzantine historian. These operations were directed with prudence and energy: in his homeward voyage George lost nineteen of his galleies, which were separated and taken: after an obstinate defence, Coflu implored the clemency of her lawful sovereign; nor could a ship, a soldier of the Norman prince, be found, unless as a captive, within the limits of the Eastern empire. The prosperity and the health of Roger were already in a declining state: while he listened in his palace of Palermo to the messengers of victory or defeat, the invincible Manuel, the foremost in every assault, was

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The emperor Manuel repulse the Normans, l. vi. 1142, 1143.

<sup>1</sup> In catalan *regium regitum ignem apertit*, says Dandulus l. vi. 1. *Manuel*, l. vi. 2, p. 66, translates them into *his arrows were arrows of fire*, and adds, *then Manuel styled themself arrows, and yelows*. The *Arctura*. These arrows, by the compiler, Vincent de Beauvais, are again translated into gold.

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LVIHe reduces  
Apulia and  
Calabria,  
a. d. 1125.

celebrated by the Greeks and Latins as the Alexander or Hercules of the age.

A prince of such a temper could not be satisfied with having repelled the insolence of a barbarian. It was the right and duty, it might be the interest and glory, of Manuel to restore the ancient majesty of the empire, to recover the provinces of Italy and Sicily, and to chastise this pretended king, the grandson of a Norman vassal.\* The natives of Calabria were still attached to the Greek language and worship, which had been inexorably proscribed by the Latin clergy: after the loss of her dukes, Apulia was chained as a servile appendage to the crown of Sicily: the founder of the monarchy had ruled by the sword; and his death had abated the fear, without healing the discontent, of his subjects: the feudal government was always pregnant with the seeds of rebellion; and a nephew of Roger himself invited the enemies of his family and nation. The majesty of the purple, and a series of Hungarian and Turkish wars, prevented Manuel from embarking his person in the Italian expedition. To the brave and noble Palæologus, his lieutenant, the Greek monarch entrusted a fleet and army: the siege of Bari was his first exploit; and in every operation, gold as well as steel was the instrument of victory. Salerno, and some

\* For the history of Italy, which is almost overlooked by Nicetas, see the latest polite history of Guichenot ii. to, c. 1-13, p. 78-101, who introduces a diffuse narrative by a shilly preface, *voilà nos Latins, et, nos nos Latins vaincrent eux, et nos Latins furent vaincus*.

places along the western coast, maintained their fidelity to the Norman king; but he lost in two campaigns the greater part of his continental possessions; and the modest emperor, disdaining all flattery and falsehood, was content with the reduction of three hundred cities or villages of Apulia and Calabria, whose names and titles were inscribed on all the walls of the palace. The prejudices of the Latins were gratified by a genuine or fictitious donation, under the seal of the German Cæsars;<sup>\*</sup> but the successor of Constantine soon renounced this ignominious pretence, claimed the indefensible dominion of Italy, and professed his design of chasing the barbarians beyond the Alps. By the artful speeches, liberal gifts, and unbounded promises, of their external ally, the free cities were encouraged to persevere in their generous struggle against the despotism of Frederic Barbarossa: the walls of Milan were rebuilt by the contributions of Manuel; and he poured, says the historian, a river of gold into the bosom of Ancon, whose attachment to the Greeks was fortified by the jealous enmity of the Venetians.<sup>†</sup> The situation and trade of Ancon rendered it an important garrison in the heart of Italy: it was twice besieged by the arms of Frederic; the imperial forces were twice repulsed

His design  
of acquiring  
Italy and  
the western  
empire,  
A. D. 1153  
-1154, &c.

<sup>\*</sup> The Latin, *Otho idem* Genui Frederici 1. 1. n. c. 30, p. 734, mixes the sagacity of the Greek, *Constantinus* (l. 1. c. 4, p. 786, claims a promise of restitution from Conrad and Frederic. An act of fraud is always creditable to the Latins held of the Greeks.

<sup>†</sup> *Quod Anconitani Genesini injuriam contra dignum...* Venerunt speciali edicto Augustinus clementer. The cause of love, perhaps of envy, were the benefit, common enemies of the emperor; and the Latin narrative is confirmed by *Constantinus* (l. 1. c. 14, p. 786.



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by the spirit of freedom; that spirit was animated by the ambassador of Constantinople; and the most intrepid patriots, the most faithful servants, were rewarded by the wealth and honours of the Byzantine court.\* The pride of Manuel disdained and rejected a barbarian colleague; his ambition was excited by the hope of stripping the purple from the German usurpers, and of establishing, in the west, as in the east, his lawful title of sole emperor of the Romans. With this view, he solicited the alliance of the people and the bishop of Rome. Several of the nobles embraced the cause of the Greek monarch; the splendid nuptials of his niece with Odo Frangipani, secured the support of that powerful family;† and his royal standard or image was entertained with due reverence in the ancient metropolis.‡ During the quarrel between Frederick and Alexander the third, the pope twice received in the Vatican the ambassadors of Constantinople. They flattered his piety by the long-promised union of the two churches, tempted the avareness of his secular court, and exhorted the Roman pontiff to seize the just provocation, the favourable moment to humble

\* Mousouris mentions the two sieges of Anconia: the first, in 1167, against Frederick I. in person (*Anconia*, tom. 2, p. 39, &c.); the second, in 1175, against his lieutenant Christian, archbishop of Anagni, a man unworthy of his name and office (p. 76, &c.). It is of the second siege that we possess an original narrative, which he has published in his *great collection* tom. vi. p. 321-346.

† We derive this anecdote from an anonymous chronicle of Fuan Nova, published by Mousouris (*Script. Ital. tom. vii. p. 674*).

‡ The ancient image of Constantine G. iv. c. 14. p. 89) is susceptible of this double sense. A standard is more Latin, an image more Greek.

the savage insolence of the Alemani, and to acknowledge the true representative of Constantine and Augustus.\*

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LVI.  
Failure of  
his designs.

But these Italian conquests, this universal reign, soon escaped from the hand of the Greek emperor. His first demands were eluded by the prudence of Alexander the third, who paused on this deep and momentous revolution;† nor could the pope be seduced by a personal dispute to renounce the perpetual inheritance of the Latin name. After his re-union with Frederic, he spoke a more peremptory language, confirmed the acts of his predecessors, excommunicated the adherents of Manuel, and pronounced the final separation of the churches, or at least the empires, of Constantinople and Rome.‡ The free cities of Lombardy no longer remembered their foreign benefactor, and without preserving the friendship of Ancona, he soon incurred the enmity of Venice.§ By his own avarice, or the complaints of his subjects, the Greek emperor was provoked to arrest

\* Stillholding the opinion published, at which several just as well as unjust persons at present are surprised, as if it were a new discovery, that Manuel was not a Greek subject, especially as it contradicts a quotation even as Frederic's statement, and all other the accurate passages (See Alexander III. & Cardinal Agabecus, in Script. Monac. Ital. tom. III. part. I. p. 458). His second sentence was immediately upon his return, and his first permanent.

† Nihil aliud et perpetua sunt (Vid. Alexander III. p. 458, 459, upon the various parts).

‡ Still more was Manuel's error, as several are the witnesses without any power (Clement, l. II. c. 14, p. 100).

§ In his sixth book, Cambrinus describes the Venetian war, which Manuel lost and George's death of his situation. The Italian accounts, which are not entirely the contrary, are repeated by the Abbé des Marais, under the years 1171, &c.

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the persons, and confiscate the effects, of the Venetian merchants. This violation of the public faith exasperated a free and commercial people: one hundred galleys were launched and armed in as many days; they swept the coasts of Dalmatia and Greece; but after some mutual wounds, the war was terminated by an agreement, inglorious to the empire, insufficient for the republic; and a complete vengeance of these and of fresh injuries, was reserved for the succeeding generation. The lieutenant of Manuel had informed his sovereign that he was strong enough to quell any domestic revolt of Apulia and Calabria; but that his forces were inadequate to resist the impending attack of the king of Sicily. His prophecy was soon verified: the death of Palæologus devolved the command on several chiefs, alike eminent in rank, alike defective in military talents; the Greeks were oppressed by land and sea; and a captive remnant that escaped the swords of the Normans and Saracens, aljured all future hostility against the person or dominions of their conqueror.<sup>a</sup> Yet the king of Sicily esteemed the courage and constancy of Manuel, who had landed a second army on the Italian shore: he respectfully addressed the new Justinian; solicited a peace or truce of thirty years, accepted

<sup>a</sup> This victory is mentioned by *Howland of Salerno* (or *Muratori*, Script. Ital. tom. 10, p. 199). It is whimsical enough, that in the person of the king of Sicily, *Guiscard* (N. 41, vs. 13, p. 37, 38) is more warlike and vigorous than *Palæologus* (p. 308, 310). But the Greek is *dead* or *disarmed*; and the Latin historian is not kind of *William the Bad*.



as a gift the regal title; and acknowledged him-  
self the military vassal of the Roman empire.<sup>a</sup>  
The Byzantine Caesars acquiesced in this shadow  
of dominion, without expecting, perhaps without  
desiring, the service of a Norman army; and the  
truce of thirty years was not disturbed by any  
hostilities between Sicily and Constantinople.  
About the end of that period, the throne of  
Manuel was usurped by an inhuman tyrant, who  
had deserved the abhorrence of his country and  
mankind: the sword of William the second, the  
grandson of Roger, was drawn by a fugitive of  
the Comnenian race; and the subjects of Andro-  
nicus might salute the strangers as friends, since  
they detested their sovereign as the worst of ene-  
mies. The Latin historians<sup>b</sup> expatiate on the  
rapid progress of the four counts who invaded  
Romania with a fleet and army, and reduced  
many castles and cities to the obedience of the  
king of Sicily. The Greeks<sup>c</sup> accuse and magnify

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Peace with  
the Normans.

1146.

Last war  
the Greeks  
and Normans.

1154.

<sup>a</sup> For the epoch of William I. see Clemens (l. iv. c. 12, p. 101, 102) and Noctas (l. ii. c. 63). It is difficult to affirm, whether these Greeks deceived themselves, or the public, in those flattering portraits of the grandeur of the empire.

<sup>b</sup> I can only quote of original evidence, the four chronicles of Sicily of Constantine (p. 102), and of Peter Novati (p. 113), as they are published in the seventh tome of Muratori's historians. The king of Sicily sent his troops against the emperor Andronicus . . . and conquered many cities . . . They were captured and destroyed . . . and the empire, by force.

<sup>c</sup> By the fallacy of Clemens, we are now referred to Noctas (l. ii. c. 63) and to Peter Novati (p. 113), as being Anglo, l. i. c. 1-4), who now becomes a respectable contemporary. As he survived the emperor and the empire, he is their history: but the fact of Constantine's conquests has prejudiced against the Latins. For the history

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the wanton and sacrilegious cruelties that were perpetrated in the sack of Thessalonica, the second city of the empire. The former deplore the fate of those invincible but unsuspecting warriors who were destroyed by the arts of a vanquished foe. The latter applaud, in songs of triumph, the repeated victories of their countrymen on the sea of Marmora or Propontis, on the banks of the Strymon, and under the walls of Durazzo. A revolution which punished the crimes of Andronicus, had united against the Franks the zeal and courage of the successful insurgents: ten thousand were slain in battle, and Isaac Angelus, the new emperor, might indulge his vanity or vengeance in the treatment of four thousand captives. Such was the event of the last contest between the Greeks and Normans; before the expiration of twenty years, the rival nations were lost or degraded in foreign servitude; and the successors of Constantine did not long survive to insult the fall of the Sicilian monarchy.

William I,  
the Bastard,  
king of  
Sicily,  
A. D. 1154,  
Feb. 24.  
A. D. 1156,  
May 1.

The sceptre of Roger successively devolved to his son and grandson: they might be confounded under the name of William; they are strongly discriminated by the epithets of the *bad* and the *good*: but those epithets, which appear to describe the perfection of vice and virtue, cannot strictly be applied to either of the Norman princes. When he was roused to arms by danger and shame, the first William did not degenerate from

of learning, I shall observe that Homer's great accompanist, Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, refused to drink his health.

the valour of his race; but his temper was sloth-  
ful; his manners were dissolute; his passions  
headstrong and mischievous; and the monarch is  
responsible, not only for his personal vices, but  
for those of Majo, the great admiral, who abused  
the confidence, and conspired against the life, of  
his benefactor. From the Arabian conquest, Sic-  
cily had imbibed a deep tincture of oriental  
manners; the despotism, the pomp, and even the  
harem, of a sultan; and a christian people was  
oppressed and insulted by the ascendant of the  
eunuchs, who openly professed, or secretly che-  
rished, the religion of Mahomet. An eloquent  
historian of the times<sup>1</sup> has delineated the mis-  
fortunes of his country: "the ambition and fall  
of the ungrateful Majo; the revolt and punish-  
ment of his assassins; the imprisonment and de-  
liverance of the king himself; the private feuds

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<sup>1</sup> The *Historia Regum de Hyspania*, which properly extends from 1134 to 1199, is inserted in the seventh volume of Muratori's Collection (tom. vii. p. 228-244), and preceded by an elegant preface or epistle (p. 227-236), de *Columatibus Siciliæ*. Vallartius has been styled the Teacher of Sicily; and, after a just, but excessive, admiration, from the first to the twelfth century, from a country to a man, I would not strip him of his title: his narrative is rapid and perspicuous, his style bold and elegant, his observations keen: he had studied mankind, and just like a man. I can only regret the error and barren field on which his labours have been cast.

\* The laborious Dissertation of Art de vérifier les Dates, p. 596) are of opinion, that the true name of Vallartius is Vallartum, or Plinartum. According to them, Hughes Fournell, a Frenchman by birth, and at length abbot of St. Denis, had followed (and Sicily his patron) Stephen de la Perche, uncle to the mother of William I., archbishop of Palermo, and great encroacher of the kingdom. Yet Valartius has all the feelings of a Sicilian; and the title of *Albanus* which he bestows on himself appears to indicate, that he was born of at least educated, in the island.



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William II.  
the Good.  
c. 1100,  
May 7.  
c. 1180,  
Nov. 18.

that arose from the public confusion; and the various forms of calamity and discord which afflicted Palermo, the island, and the continent, during the reign of William the first, and the minority of his son. The youth, innocence, and beauty of William the second,\* endeared him to the nation: the factions were reconciled; the laws were revived; and from the manhood to the premature death of that amiable prince, Sicily enjoyed a short season of peace, justice, and happiness, whose value was enhanced by the remembrance of the past and the dread of futurity. The legitimate male posterity of Tancred of Hauteville was extinct in the person of the second William; but his aunt, the daughter of Roger, had married the most powerful prince of the age; and Henry the sixth, the son of Frederic Barbarossa, descended from the Alps, to claim the imperial crown and the inheritance of his wife. Against the unanimous wish of a free people, this inheritance could only be acquired by arms; and I am pleased to transcribe the style and sense of the historian Falcandus, who writes at the moment and on the spot, with the feelings of a patriot, and the prophetic eye of a statesman.

Lamentation of the historian Falcandus.

"Constatula, the daughter of Sicily, nursed  
"from her cradle in the pleasures and plenty,

\* Falcand. p. 303. Richard de St. Germain begins his history from the death and progress of William I. After some uninteresting apothegms, he thus continues: *leges et iustitias cultas, tempore suo vigebat in regno; sed tunc quilibet fortis contentiones inter se mortalis in ubique pax, ubique securitas, nec harum interdictum super fortibus, nec maris navis ostenditula piratarum (Scripta. Baron. lxxxviii. p. 549).*



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" Messina,† might guard the passage against a  
 " foreign invader. If the savage Germans co-  
 " alence with the pirates of Messina; if they de-  
 " stroy with fire the fruitful region, so often  
 " wasted by the fires of mount *Ætna*,\* what  
 " resource will be left for the interior parts of  
 " the island, these nobilities which should never  
 " be violated by the hostile footsteps of a barba-  
 " rian? Catana has again been overwhelmed  
 " by an earthquake: the ancient virtue of Syra-  
 " cuse expires in poverty and solitude;‡ but  
 " Palermo is still crowned with a diadem, and  
 " her triple walls inclose the active multitudes  
 " of christians and Saracens. If the two nations,  
 " under one king, can unite for their common  
 " safety, they may rush on the barbarians with  
 " invincible arms. But if the Saracens, fatigued  
 " by a repetition of injuries, should now retire  
 " and rebel; if they should occupy the castles of  
 " the mountains and sea-coast, the unfortunate  
 " christians, exposed to a double attack, and  
 " placed as it were between the hammer and the  
 " anvil, must resign themselves to hopeless and

\* *Et sic hinc incerta virescent et arborescunt affluvia, . . . amplexus  
 solis ambulant domos, turribus spectantibus.*

† Cum vandalice gentis Theronum confligit exercitus, et dicit  
 ambustus lapides, et *Ætna* flagrantis incensio, &c.

‡ Hinc pariter, quam nobilissimum . . . curus fulget illucet, quæ  
 et non reges singulorum, nec ulli privilegio prestantur, sed omni iure . . .  
 sed insuperantur ingens pars. I wish to translate his dissent, but cer-  
 tainly, description of the palace, city, and environs plain of Paler-  
 mo.

§ Vixit non suppositus, et comitis tunc iam longæ ætatis, quam  
 pariter bellatorum student.





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earth and heaven to prevent the dangerous union of the German empire with the kingdom of Sicily. But the subtle policy, for which the Vatican has so often been praised or arraigned, was on this occasion blind and inactive; and if it were true that Celestine the third had kicked away the imperial crown from the head of the prostrate Henry,<sup>7</sup> such an act of impotent pride could serve only to cancel an obligation and provoke an enemy. The Genoese, who enjoyed a beneficial trade and establishment in Sicily, listened to the promises of his boundless gratitude and speedy departure:<sup>8</sup> their fleet commanded the streights of Messina, and opened the harbour of Palermo; and the first act of his government was to abolish the privileges, and to seize the property, of these imprudent allies. The last hope of Falcardus was defeated by the disgust of the christians and Mahometans: they fought in the capital; several thousand of the latter were slain; but their surviving brethren fortified the mountains, and disturbed above thirty years the peace of the island. By the policy of Frederick the second, sixty thousand Saracens were transplanted to Nocera in Apulia. In their wars against the Roman church, the emperor and his son Mainfroy were strength-

<sup>7</sup> The testimony of an Englishman, of Reges et Pontifices (p. 689), with plenty weigh against the story of German and Italian history (Mazuchii, *Annales d'Italie*, tom. 1, p. 1149. The promises and pledges, when returned from Rome, excited, by every tale, the omnipotence of the holy father.

<sup>8</sup> See them so in some Transalpine authors even dates (Goffart, *Annales*, Genesini, in Muratori, *Scripta Regum Italianorum*, tom. vi, p. 247, 248).

ened and disgraced by the service of the enemies of Christ; and this national colony maintained their religion and manners in the heart of Italy, till they were extirpated, at the end of the thirteenth century, by the zeal and revenge of the house of Anjou.\* All the calamities which the prophetic orator had deplored were surpassed by the cruelty and avarice of the German conqueror. He violated the royal sepulchres, and explored the secret treasures of the palace, Palermo, and the whole kingdom: the pearls and jewels, however precious, might be easily removed: but one hundred and sixty horses were hulen with the gold and silver of Sicily.<sup>b</sup> The young king, his mother and sisters, and the nobles of both sexes, were separately confined in the fortresses of the Alps; and, on the slightest rumour of rebellion, the captives were deprived of life, of their eyes, or of the hope of posterity. Constantia herself was touched with sympathy for the miseries of her country: and the heiress of the

\* For the Saracens of Sicily and Naxos, see the annals of Muratori (Ann. x. p. 146, and L. II. 1223, 1247), *Almanach* (Ann. II. p. 283,) and of the originals, in Muratori's collection, Richard de St. Germain (Ann. viii. p. 304), Matteo Spinelli de Giovinetti (Ann. viii. p. 106), Nicholas de Jamellis (Ann. x. p. 494), and Matteo Villani (Ann. xiv. l. vii. p. 100). The last of these historians, that is reducing the Saracens of Naxos, Charles II. of Anjou, employed rather artifice than violence.

<sup>b</sup> Muratori quotes a passage from Arnold of Lubeck (L. II. c. 32): *Regem theodoricum obsidum, et universum captivum proferentem et germanum gloriam, na ex omnibus 100 omnibus, gloriam ad locum suum reduxit.* Roger de Howden, who mentions the reduction of the royal family and clergy, computes the spoil of Palermo at 200,000 ounces of gold (p. 746). On these occasions, I am almost tempted to coincide with the Italianing maid in *La Fontaine*, "Je voudrais bien voir ce qui manque."



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Final con-  
clusion of  
the Nor-  
man.  
A. D. 1024.

Norman line might struggle to check her despotic husband, and to save the patrimony of her new born son, of an emperor so famous in the next age under the name of Frederic the second. Ten years after this revolution, the French monarchs annexed to their crown the duchy of Normandy: the sceptre of her ancient dukes had been transmitted, by a grand-daughter of William the conqueror, to the house of Plantagenet; and the adventurous Normans, who had raised so many trophies in France, England, and Ireland, in Apulia, Sicily, and the East, were lost, either in victory or servitude, among the vanquished nations.

## CHAP. LVII.

*The Turks of the house of Seljuk.—Their revolt against Mahmud, conqueror of Hindostan.—Togrud subdues Persia, and protects the caliphs.—Dejected and captivity of the Emperor Romanus Diogenes by Alp Arslan.—Power and magnificence of Mulek Shah.—Conquest of Asia Minor and Syria.—State and oppression of Jerusalem.—Pilgrimages to the holy sepulchre.*

FROM the isle of Sicily, the reader must transport himself beyond the Caspian sea, to the original seat of the Turks or Turkmen, against whom the first crusade was principally directed. Their Scythian empire of the sixth century was long since dissolved; but the name was still famous among the Greeks and orientals; and the fragments of the nation, each a powerful and independent people, were scattered over the desert from Chian to the Oxus and the Danube: the colony of Hungarians was admitted into the republic of Europe, and the thrones of Asia were occupied by slaves and soldiers of Turkish extraction. While Apulia and Sicily were subdued by the Norman lance, a swarm of these northern shepherds overspread the kingdoms of Persia: their princes of the race of Seljuk erected a splendid and solid empire from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt; and the Turks have maintained their dominion in Asia

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Mahmud,  
the Gaz-  
nevide,  
a. m. 992  
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Minor, till the victorious crescent has been planted on the dome of St. Sophia.

One of the greatest of the Turkish princes was Mahmood or Mahmud,<sup>a</sup> the Gaznevide, who reigned in the eastern provinces of Persia, one thousand years after the birth of Christ. His father Selectagi was the slave of the slave of the slave of the commander of the faithful. But in this descent of servitude, the first degree was merely titular, since it was filled by the sovereign of Transoxiana and Chorasan, who still paid a nominal allegiance to the caliph of Bagdad. The second rank was that of a minister of state, a lieutenant of the Samanides,<sup>b</sup> who broke, by his revolt, the bonds of political slavery. But the third step was a state of real and domestic servitude in the family of that rebel; from which Selectagi, by his courage and dexterity, ascended to the supreme command of the city and province of Gazna,<sup>c</sup> as the son-in-law and successor of his

<sup>a</sup> I am indebted for his character and history to *Cherbagat (Histoires Orientales, Mahmud, p. 333-335), M. de Gillingen (Histoires des Huns, tom. vi, p. 142-173),* and our countryman Colonel Alexander Dow (*Ind. I, p. 21-23*). In the new first volume of his *History of Hindostan*, he styles himself the translator of the Persian *Farukhi*; but in his *David* series, it is not easy to distinguish the version and the original.

<sup>b</sup> The dynasty of the Samanides continued 125 years, i. e. 874-1000, under ten princes. See their successes and ruin, in the tables of M. de Gillingen (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i, p. 404-405). They were followed by the Gazneviches, i. e. 999-1183, tom. i, p. 232, 239). His division of nations often disturbs the series of time and place.

<sup>c</sup> Gazna begins our history; see *supra* p. 404. *Annuaire Geographique, Relève, tom. xxi, p. 249, d'Hervet, p. 341.* It has not been visited by any modern traveller.



grateful master. The falling dynasty of the Sumanides was at first protected, and at last overthrown, by their servants; and, in the public disorders, the fortune of Mahomed continually increased. For him, the title of *caliph* was first invented: and his kingdom was enlarged from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, from the shores of the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus. But the principal source of his fame and riches was the holy war which he waged against the Gentiles of Hindostan. In this foreign narrative I may not consume a page; and a volume would scarcely suffice to recapitulate the battles and sieges of his twelve expeditions. Never was the mussulman hero dismayed by the inclemency of the seasons, the height of the mountains, the breadth of the rivers, the barrenness of the desert, the multitudes of the enemy, or the formidable array of their elephants of war.\* The sultan of Garna surpassed the limits of the conquests

\* By the ambassador of the caliph of Bagdad, who testified to Anthonio Chaldair, who also testified had and manner of Harrold, p. 443. It is interpreted *Demagogus, Socraticus, Pothius*, by the Byzantine writers of the eleventh century; and the name *Chaldair*, not known, is necessarily compared to the Greek and Latin languages, after it had passed from the Cappadocian to the Syriac, and other parts of Asia and Egypt. *Demagogus* (Theophrastus vii, 10; *Chaldair*, p. 443, 240, *Chaldair*, *Chaldair*, *Chaldair*, to find the title of editor in the ancient language of Persia; but the process is more difficult; a Greek name to the Themas of Constantinople (p. 11, in the edition of *Demagogus*, *Chaldair*, a name of *Demagogus*, not as he believed the *Demagogus* of the title, and the *Chaldair* of the title of the twelfth century of the Chinese. *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii, p. 245.

<sup>1</sup> *Parents of the Deaf, Hist. of Blindness*, vol. 1, p. 46; mentions the paper of a girl in the Indian story. But not an eye in nature.

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of Alexander: after a march of three months, over the hills of Cashmir and Thibet, he reached the famous city of Kinnage,<sup>1</sup> on the Upper Ganges: and, in a naval combat on one of the branches of the Indus, he fought and vanquished four thousand boats of the natives. Dehli, Lahor, and Multan, were compelled to open their gates: the fertile kingdom of Guzarat attracted his ambition and tempted his stay: and his avarice indulged the fruitless project of discovering the golden and aromatic isles of the Southern Ocean. On the payment of a tribute, the *rajahs* preserved their dominions; the people, their lives and fortunes: but to the religion of Hindostan, the zealous musulman was cruel and insupportable: many hundred temples, or pagodas, were levelled with the ground; many thousand idols were demolished; and the servants of the prophet were stimulated and rewarded by the precious materials of which they were composed. The pagoda of Sumnat was situate on the promontory of Guzarat, in the neighbourhood of Din, one of the last remaining possessions of the Portugueses.<sup>2</sup> It was endowed with the revenue of two thousand vil-

ing this promonture (c. 21698) and at 2500000, I must desire to see the hills first this text, and then the authority of Ferriera, who lived in the Mogul court in the last century.

<sup>1</sup> Kinnage, or Cannage (the old Pambhootan, is marked in latitude 27° 2', longitude 80° 18'. See *J. de Ville Paragon de l'Inde*, p. 100-101, corrected by the local Circulaires of Major Rennel in the excellent account of his map of Hindostan, p. 31-33: and *Jougnier* 2000000000 for the area and, 60,000 boats of musketry. See *Abulfeda's Geography*, vol. vi, p. 214. Dow, vol. ii, p. 15, will show an ample derivation.

<sup>2</sup> The situation of Kinnage, says Ferriera (Dow, vol. i, p. 68). Consult *Abulfeda* (p. 212), and Rennel's map of Hindostan.

lages; two thousand Brahmins were consecrated to the service of the deity, whom they washed each morning and evening in water from the distant Ganges: the subordinate ministers consisted of three hundred musicians, three hundred barbers, and five hundred dancing girls, conspicuous for their birth or beauty. Three sides of the temple were protected by the ocean, the narrow isthmus was fortified by a natural or artificial precipice; and the city and adjacent country were peopled by a nation of fanatics. They confessed the sins and the punishment of Kinnoge and Delhi; but if the impious stranger should presume to approach *their* holy precincts, he would surely be overwhelmed by a blast of the divine vengeance. By this challenge, the faith of Mahmud was animated to a personal trial of the strength of this Indian deity. Fifty thousand of his worshippers were pierced by the spear of the Moslems; the walls were scaled; the sanctuary was profaned; and the conqueror aimed a blow of his iron mace at the head of the idol. The trembling Brahmins are said to have offered ten millions sterling for his ransom; and it was urged by the wisest counsellors, that the destruction of a stone image would not change the hearts of the Gentoo; and that such a man might be dedicated to the relief of the true believers: "Your reasons," replied the sultan, "are specious and strong; but never in the eyes of posterity shall Mahmud appear as a merchant of idols." He repeated his blows, and a treasure of pearls and rubies, concealed in the



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His cha-  
racter.

belly of the statue, explained in some degree the devout prodigality of the Brahmins. The fragments of the idol were distributed to Gazna, Mecca, and Medina. Bagdad listened to the edifying tale; and Mahmud was saluted by the caliph with the title of guardian of the fortune and faith of Mahomet.

From the paths of blood, and such is the history of nations, I cannot refuse to turn aside to gather some flowers of science or virtue. The name of Mahmud the Gaznevide is still venerable in the East: his subjects enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace; his vices were concealed by the veil of religion; and two familiar examples will testify his justice and magnanimity. 1. As he sat in the divan, an unhappy subject bowed before the throne to accuse the insolence of a Turkish soldier who had driven him from his house and bed. "Suspend your clamours," said Mahmud, "inform me of his next visit, and ourself in person will judge and punish the offender." The sultan followed his guide, invested the house with his guards, and extinguishing the torches, pronounced the death of the criminal, who had been seized in the act of rapine and adultery. After the execution of his sentence, the lights were rekindled. Mahmud fell prostrate in prayer, and rising from the ground, demanded some homely fare, which he devoured with the voraciousness of hunger. The poor man, whose injury he had avenged, was unable to suppress his astonishment and curiosity; and the courteous monarch condescended to explain the motives of this singular behaviour.

" I had reason to suspect that none except one of  
 " my sons could dare to perpetrate such an out-  
 " rage; and I extinguished the lights, that my  
 " justice might be blind and inexorable. My  
 " prayer was a thanksgiving on the discovery of  
 " the offender; and so painful was my anxiety,  
 " that I had passed three days without food since  
 " the first moment of your complaint." 11. The  
 sultan of Gazna had declared war against the  
 dynasty of the Bowides, the sovereigns of the  
 western Persia: he was disarmed by an epistle of  
 the sultana mother, and delayed his invasion till  
 the manhood of her son.\* " During the life of  
 " my husband," said the artful regent, " I was  
 " ever apprehensive of your ambition: he was a  
 " prince and a soldier worthy of your arms. He  
 " is now no more; his sceptre has passed to a  
 " woman and a child, and you *dare not* attack  
 " their infancy and weakness. How inglorious  
 " would be your conquest, how shameful your  
 " defeat! and yet the event of war is in the hand  
 " of the Almighty." Avarice was the only de-  
 fect that tarnished the illustrious character of  
 Mahmud: and never has that passion been more  
 richly satiated. The Orientals exceed the mea-  
 sure of credulity in the account of millions of  
 gold and silver, such as the avidity of man  
 has never accumulated; in the magnitude of  
 pearls, diamonds, and rubies, such as have  
 never been produced by the workmanship of na-

\* D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 327. Yet these letters,  
 apocryphal, &c. are rarely the language of the heart, or the motives  
 of public action.

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ture.<sup>1</sup> Yet the soil of Hindostan is impregnated with precious minerals; her trade, in every age, has attracted the gold and silver of the world; and her virgin spoils were rifled by the first of the Mahometan conquerors. His behaviour, in the last days of his life, evinces the vanity of these possessions, so laboriously won, so dangerously held, and so inevitably lost. He surveyed the vast and various chambers of the treasury of Gazna; burst into tears; and again closed the doors, without bestowing any portion of the wealth which he could no longer hope to preserve. The following day he reviewed the state of his military force: one hundred thousand foot, fifty-five thousand horse, and thirteen hundred elephants of battle.<sup>2</sup> He again wept the instability of human greatness; and his grief was embittered by the hostile progress of the Turkmen, whom he had introduced into the heart of his Persian kingdom.

Manners  
and civil-  
ization of  
the Turks.

In the modern depopulation of Asia, the regular operation of government and agriculture is confined to the neighbourhood of cities; and the dis-

<sup>1</sup> For instance, a ruby of four hundred and fifty miskals (Dow, vol. 1, p. 22), or six pounds three ounces the largest in the treasury of Delhi weighed seven hundred miskals (*Voyages de Tavernier*, partie 1, p. 287). It is true, that in the present estimated stamps are called rubies (p. 226), and that Tavernier saw three large and some precious among the *joyaux de notre grand roi, le plus puissant et plus magnifique de nos braves rois de la terre* (p. 218).

<sup>2</sup> Dow, vol. 1, p. 33. The sovereignty of Kome is said to have produced 2000 elephants (*Asiatick Geography*, tab. xv, p. 274). From these Indian sources, the reader may correct a note in my *last volume* (p. 377, 395); he finds that none he may correct these errors.



tant country is abandoned to the pastoral tribes of CHAP. CIVIL. Arabs, Curds, and *Turkmen*s.<sup>1</sup> Of the last-mentioned people, two considerable branches ex-of Turk-  
men,  
A. D. 880-  
1028. tend on either side of the Caspian sea: the western colony can muster forty thousand soldiers; the eastern, less obvious to the traveller, but more strong and populous, has increased to the number of one hundred thousand families. In the midst of civilized nations, they preserve the manners of the Scythian desert, remove their encampments with the change of seasons, and feed their cattle among the ruins of palaces and temples. Their flocks and herds are their only riches; their tents, either black or white, according to the colour of the banner, are covered with felt, and of a circular form; their winter apparel is a sheep-skin; a robe of cloth or cotton their summer garment: the features of the men are harsh and ferocious; the countenance of their women is soft and pleasing. Their wandering life maintains the spirit and exercise of arms; they fight on horse-back; and their courage is displayed in frequent contests with each other and with their neighbours. For the licence of pasture they pay a slight tribute to the sovereign of the land; but the domestic jurisdiction is in the hands of the chiefs and elders. The first emigration of the eastern *Turkmen*s, the most ancient of their race, may be ascribed to the tenth century of the christian

<sup>1</sup> See a just and natural picture of these pastoral manners, in the history of William, a bishop of Tyre (L. 1. c. vi), in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 633, 634, and a reliable note by the editor of the *Historia Geographica des Tartars*, p. 215-228.

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era." In the decline of the caliphs, and the weakness of their lieutenants, the barrier of the Jaxartes was often violated: in each invasion, after the victory or retreat of their countrymen, some wandering tribe, embracing the mahometan faith, obtained a free encampment in the spacious plains and pleasant climate of Transoxiana and Carizme. The Turkish slaves who aspired to the throne encouraged these emigrations, which recruited their armies, awed their subjects and rivals, and protected the frontier against the wilder natives of Turkestan: and this policy was abused by Mahmud the Gaznevide beyond the example of former times. He was admonished of his error by a chief of the race of Seljuk, who dwelt in the territory of Bochara. The sultan had enquired what supply of men he could furnish for military service. "If you send," replied Ismael, "one  
" of these arrows into our camp, fifty thousand  
" of your servants will mount on horseback."  
"And if that number," continued Mahmud,  
"should not be sufficient?" "Send this second  
" arrow to the horde of Baluk, and you will find  
" fifty thousand more." "But," said the Gaznevide, dissembling his anxiety, "if I should  
" stand in need of the whole force of your kin-  
" dred tribes?" "Dispatch my bow," was the

\* The first emigrations of the Turkmens, and doubtless origin of the Seljuks, may be traced in the interesting history of the Hungs, by M. de Guignes (*Ann. i. Tables Chronologiques*, t. v. tom. iii, l. vii, lx, &c.) and the *Historique Dramatique d'Herbein* (p. 199-202, 297-301). *Essai sur l'Hist. Turques*, p. 331-333, and *Abulpharagius* (*Dynast.* p. 331, 337).

last reply of Ismael, "and as it is circulated  
 "around, the summons will be obeyed by two  
 "hundred thousand horse." The apprehension  
 of such formidable friendship induced Mahmud to  
 transport the most obnoxious tribes into the heart  
 of Chormann, where they would be separated from  
 their brethren by the river Oxus, and inclosed on  
 all sides by the walls of obedient cities. But the  
 face of the country was an object of temptation  
 rather than terror; and the vigour of government  
 was relaxed by the absence and death of the sultan  
 of Gazna. The shepherds were converted into  
 robbers; the bands of robbers were collected into  
 an army of conquerors: as far as Ispahan and the  
 Tigris, Persia was afflicted by their predatory in-  
 roads; and the Turkmenians were not ashamed or  
 afraid to measure their courage and numbers with  
 the proudest sovereigns of Asia. Massoud, the  
 son and successor of Mahmud, had too long ne-  
 glected the advice of his wisest amirah. "Your  
 "enemies," they repeatedly urged, "were in  
 "their origin a swarm of ants; they are now  
 "little snakes; and, unless they be instantly  
 "crushed, they will acquire the venom and mag-  
 "nitude of serpents." After some alternatives of  
 truce and hostility, after the repulse or partial  
 success of his lieutenants, the sultan marched in  
 person against the Turkmenians, who attacked him  
 on all sides with barbarous shouts and irregular  
 onset. "Massoud," says the Persian historian,

\* Hume, Hist. of Hindostan, vol. 5, p. 69, 93-94. I have copied  
 this passage as a specimen of the Persian manner; but I suspect, that  
 by some odd fatality, the style of Ferishta has been improved by that  
 of Ousein.



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feat the  
Garze-  
vides and  
subdue  
Persia.

A. D. 1028.

"plunged singly to oppose the torrent of gleam-  
 "ing arms, exhibiting such acts of gigantic force  
 "and valour as never king had before displayed.  
 "A few of his friends, roused by his words and  
 "actions, and that innate honour which inspires  
 "the brave, seconded their lord so well, that  
 "wheresoever he turned his fatal sword, the  
 "enemies were mowed down, or retreated before  
 "him. But now, when victory seemed to blow  
 "on his standard, misfortune was active behind  
 "it; for when he looked round, he beheld  
 "almost his whole army, excepting that body  
 "he commanded in person, devouring the paths  
 "of flight." The Garzevide was abandoned by  
 the cowardice or treachery of some generals of  
 Turkish race; and this memorable day of Zen-  
 deckm<sup>1</sup> founded in Persia the dynasty of the  
 shepherd kings."

Dynasty of  
the Seljuks  
begins,  
A. D. 1038  
-1132.

The victorious Turkmans immediately pro-  
 ceeded to the election of a king; and, if the  
 probable tale of a Latin historian<sup>2</sup> deserves any  
 credit, they determined by lot the choice of their

<sup>1</sup> The *Zandak* of *Abulpharaj* (p. 1088), the *Dandak* of Her-  
 belot, c. p. 211, is probably the *Dandukhan* of *Abulpharaj* (p. 243, Herbelot), a small town of Chusistan, two days journey from  
 Herat, and renowned through the East for the production and manu-  
 facture of cotton.

<sup>2</sup> The *Byzantine historians* (Harden, tom. ii. p. 160, 161, *Zeno-*  
*phorus*, c. p. 243, *Nicéphorus Byzantinus*, p. 22) have represented  
 it as a revolution, the work of time and chance, of names and persons,  
 of chance and error. The ignorance and errors of these Greeks  
 (which I shall not stop to mention) may perhaps have arisen, at the  
 story of Cyrus and Artaban, as it is told by their most illustrious pre-  
 decessors.

<sup>3</sup> *Wilhelm Tyr* (c. i. l. i. p. 322). The illustration by Herbelot is  
 incorrect and contrary to the text.

new master. A number of arrows were successively inscribed with the name of a tribe, a family, and a candidate: they were drawn from the bundle by the hand of a child; and the important prize was obtained by Togrul Beg, the son of Michael, the son of Seljuk, whose surname was immortalised in the greatness of his posterity. The sultan Mahmud, who valued himself on his skill in national genealogy, professed his ignorance of the family of Seljuk; yet the father of that race appears to have been a chief of power and renown.<sup>2</sup> For a daring intrusion into the harem of his prince, Seljuk was banished from Turkestan; with a numerous tribe of his friends and vassals, he passed the Jaxartes, encamped in the neighbourhood of Samarcand, embraced the religion of Mahomet, and acquired the crown of martyrdom in a war against the infidels. His age, of an hundred and seven years, surpassed the life of his son, and Seljuk adopted the care of his two grandsons, Togrul and Janfar; the eldest of whom, at the age of forty-five, was invested with the title of sultan, in the royal city of Nishapur. The blind determination of chance was justified by the virtues of the successful candidate. It would be superfluous to praise the valour of a Turk; and the

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Notes and  
Chronology of  
Toghrul  
L. vi. 1038  
1793.

<sup>2</sup> D'Hariens, p. 301. Yet after the discovery of his parentage, Seljuk became the celebrated birth in blood descent from the great Afrasiab, emperor of Turan (p. 306). The Yezidi pedigree of the house of Eingel gives a different cast to history and fable; and the learned Michand derives the Seljukides from Alankarah, the virgin-mother (p. 301, vol. 9). If they be the same as the Zalzale of Alexander Belcher Khan (Hist. Géomologique, &c. 148), we quote in that history the most weighty evidence of a Tartar prince himself, the descendants of Zingis, Alankarah, or Alanc, and Oguz Khan.

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ambition of Togrul was equal to his valour. By his arms, the Gaznevîdes were expelled from the eastern kingdoms of Persia, and gradually driven to the banks of the Indus, in search of a softer and more wealthy conquest. In the West he annihilated the dynasty of the Bowîdes; and the sceptre of Irak passed from the Persians to the Turkish nation. The princes, who had felt, or who feared, the Seljukian arrows, bowed their heads in the dust: by the conquests of Aderbâjan, or Media, he approached the Roman confines; and the shepherd presumed to dispatch an ambassador, or herald, to demand the tribute and obedience of the emperor of Constantinople.\* In his own dominions, Togrul was the father of his soldiers and people: by a firm and equal administration, Persia was relieved from the evils of anarchy; and the same hands which had been imbrued in blood became the guardians of justice and the public peace. The more rustic, perhaps the wisest, portion of the Turkmen\* continued to dwell in the tents of their ancestors; and,

\* By a slight corruption, Togrul became the Tughrul-pix of the Greeks. His origin and character are fully and exactly exhibited by d'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 1077, 1078) and de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. vi, p. 182-183).

\* Cedrenus, tom. iv, p. 774, 775. Zonaras, tom. ii, p. 257. With their usual knowledge of oriental affairs, they describe the ambassador as a sheriff, who, like the tyrocinus of the patriarch, was the judge and successor of the caliph.

\* From Wharton's *Turci* I have borrowed this distinction of Turks and Turkmen, which at least is popular and convenient. The names are too vague, and the addition of *nomad* is of too sure import in the Persian and Turkish idiom. Two critics will adopt the etymology of Janssen de Vries (*Hist. Illust.* 2, c. 11, p. 100), of Turcoman, from *Tur* is, *Coman*, a mixed people.



from the Oxus to the Euphrates, these military colonies were protected and propagated by their native princes. But the Turks of the court and city were refined by business and softened by pleasure: they imitated the dress, language, and manners, of Persia; and the royal palaces of Nishapur and Rei displayed the order and magnificence of a great monarchy. The most deserving of the Arabians and Persians were promoted to the honours of the state; and the whole body of the Turkish nation embraced with fervour and sincerity the religion of Mahomet. The northern swarms of barbarians, who overspread both Europe and Asia, have been irreconcilably separated by the consequences of a similar conduct. Among the Moslems, as among the christians, their vague and local traditions have yielded to the reason and authority of the prevailing system, to the fame of antiquity, and the consent of nations. But the triumph of the koran is more pure and meritorious, as it was not assisted by any visible splendour of worship which might allure the pagans by some resemblance of idolatry. The first of the Seljukian sultans was conspicuous by his zeal and faith: each day he repeated the five prayers which are enjoined to the true believers; of each week, the two first days were consecrated by an extraordinary fast; and in every city a mosque was completed, before Togrul presumed to lay the foundations of a palace.\*

\* Hist. Generale des Huns, tom. III, p. 123, 126, 127. H. de Gulgoes quies Abulnashem, an imitation of Egypt.

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He delivers  
the message  
of Mahmud,  
A. D. 1055.

With the belief of the koran, the son of Seljuk imbibed a lively reverence for the successor of the prophet. But that sublime character was still disputed by the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt, and each of the rivals was solicitous to prove his title in the judgment of the strong, though illiterate, barbarians. Mahmud the Gaznevide had declared himself in favour of the line of Abbas; and had treated with indignity the robe of honour which was presented by the Fatimite ambassador. Yet the ungrateful Hashemite had changed with the change of fortune; he applauded the victory of Zendecan, and named the Seljukian sultan his temporal viceroy over the Moslem world. As Toghrul accepted and enlarged this important trust, he was called to the deliverance of the caliph Cayem, and obeyed the holy summons, which gave a new kingdom to his arms.<sup>2</sup> In the palace of Bagdad, the commander of the faithful still slumbered, a venerable phantom. His servant or master, the prince of the Bowides, could no longer protect him from the insolence of menacer tyrants; and the Euphrates and Tigris were oppressed by the revolt of the Turkish and Arabian emirs. The presence of a conqueror was implored as a blessing; and the transient mischiefs of fire and sword were excused as the sharp but salutary remedies which alone could restore the health of the republic. At the head of an irresistible force, the sultan of Persia marched from

<sup>2</sup> Consult the *Despatches Orientales*, in the articles of the *Alémoules*, *Caher*, and *Chaher*, and the annals of *Eltamash* and *Adolpharagun*.

Hamadan: the proud were crushed, the prostrate were spared; the prince of the Bowides disappeared: the heads of the most obstinate rebels were laid at the feet of Togrul; and he inflicted a lesson of obedience on the people of Mosul and Bagdad. After the chastisement of the guilty, and the restoration of peace, the royal shepherd accepted the reward of his labours; and a solemn comedy represented the triumph of religious prejudice over barbarian power.\* The Turkish sultan embarked on the Tigris, landed at the gate of Rarra, and made his public entry on horseback. At the palace-gate he respectfully dismounted, and walked on foot, preceded by his emirs without arms. The caliph was seated behind his black veil: the black garment of the Abbassides was cast over his shoulders, and he held in his hand the staff of the apostle of God. The conqueror of the East kissed the ground, stood some time in a modest posture, and was led towards the throne by the vizir and an interpreter. After Togrul had seated himself on another throne, his commission was publicly read, which declared him the temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet. He was successively invested with seven robes of honour, and presented with seven slaves, the natives of the seven climates of the Arabian empire. His mystic veil was perfumed with musk; two crowns were placed on his head; two scymetars were

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the ceremony.

\* For this curious ceremony, I am indebted to M. de Guignes, *Journal Asiatique*, p. 197, 1985; and that Journal article is translated in Bunsen's *Notes* composed in Arabic the history of the Seljuks, *Ann.* 7, p. 244. I am ignorant of his age, country, and character.



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and death,  
A.D. 1043.

girded to his side, as the symbols of a double reign over the East and West. After this inauguration, the sultan was prevented from prostrating himself a second time; but he twice kissed the hand of the commander of the faithful, and his titles were proclaimed by the voice of heralds and the applause of the Moslems. In a second visit to Bagdad, the Seljukian prince again rescued the caliph from his enemies; and devoutly, on foot, led the bridle of his mule from the prison to the palace. Their alliance was cemented by the marriage of Togrul's sister with the successor of the prophet. Without reluctance he had introduced a Turkish virgin into his harem; but Cayem proudly refused his daughter to the sultan, disdained to mingle the blood of the Hashemites with the blood of a Scythian shepherd; and protracted the negotiation many months, till the gradual diminution of his revenue admonished him that he was still in the hands of a master. The royal nuptials were followed by the death of Togrul himself.\* As he left no children, his nephew Alp Arslan succeeded to the title and prerogatives of sultan; and his name, after that of the caliph, was pronounced in the public prayers of the Moslems. Yet in this revolution, the Abbassides acquired a larger measure of liberty and power. On the throne of Asa, the Turkish monarchs were less jealous of the domestic administration of Bagdad; and the commanders

\* *Enchiridion* (p. 2. 115), ubi princeps Togrulbeckus . . . rex suis consensu, presentibus, et personis regum illi, et suis inter eosque mortalibus invenit, et non obediens ei regis imperio ad ipsam urbem. *Al-Buhārī*, *Hist. Saracum*, p. 343, vers. *Erpenii*.

of the faithful were relieved from the ignominious vexations to which they had been exposed by the presence and poverty of the Persian dynasty.

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LVIII

Since the fall of the caliphs, the discord and degeneracy of the Saracens respected the Asiatic provinces of Rome; which, by the victories of Nicephorus, Zimisce, and Basil, had been extended as far as Antioch and the eastern boundaries of Armenia. Twenty-five years after the death of Basil, his successors were suddenly assaulted by an unknown race of barbarians, who united the Scythian valour with the fanaticism of new proselytes, and the art and riches of a powerful monarchy.<sup>b</sup> The myriads of Turkish horse overspread a frontier of six hundred miles from Taurus to Arzeroum, and the blood of one hundred and thirty thousand christians was a grateful sacrifice to the Arabian prophet. Yet the arms of Togrul did not make any deep or lasting impression on the Greek empire. The torrent rolled away from the open country; the sultan retired without glory or success from the siege of an Armenian city; the obscure hostilities were continued or suspended with a vicissitude of events; and the

The Turks  
invade the  
Roman  
empire,  
A. D. 1040.

<sup>b</sup> For these wars of the Turks and Romans, see in general the Byzantine history of Zonaras and Cedrenus; Scylitzes the continuator of Cedrenus, and Nicephorus Bryennius Cassa. The two first of them were monks, the two latter statesmen; yet each were the Greeks, that the difference of style and character is scarcely discernible. For the accuracy of style, I draw in usual on the wealth of d'Herbelot (see title of the first Seljukides) and the accuracy of de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. II, l. 13).

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LVII.

Reign of  
Alp Arslan,  
A. D. 1023  
-1072.

Conquest of  
Armenia  
and Geo-  
rgia,  
A. D. 1063  
-1068.

bravery of the Macedonian legions renewed the fame of the conqueror of Asia.\* The name of Alp Arslan, the valiant lion, is expressive of the popular idea of the perfection of man; and the successor of Tugrul displayed the fierceness and generosity of the royal animal. He passed the Euphrates at the head of the Turkish cavalry, and entered Cæsarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia, to which he had been attracted by the fame and wealth of the temple of St. Basil. The solid structure resisted the destroyer: but he carried away the doors of the shrine incrustated with gold and pearls, and profaned the relics of the tutelary saint, whose mortal frailties were now covered by the venerable rust of antiquity. The final conquest of Armenia and Georgia was achieved by Alp Arslan. In Armenia, the title of a kingdom, and the spirit of a nation, were annihilated: the artificial fortifications were yielded by the mercenaries of Constantinople; by strangers without faith, veterans without pay or arms, and recruits without experience or discipline. The loss of this important frontier was the news of a day; and the catholics were neither surprised nor displeased, that a people so deeply infected with the Nestorian and Eutychian errors, had been delivered by Christ

\* *Alp Arslan* was the Turkish name, by the original pronunciation of which *Alp* and *Arslan* were the names of the lion, and *Arslan* the name of the lion. See *Alp Arslan* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. II, p. 791. The credibility of the vulgar tradition is probable; and the Turks and Persians from the Arabs the history of the great conqueror Alp Arslan. (See *Alp Arslan*, p. 317, &c.)



and his mother into the hands of the infidels.<sup>4</sup> The woods and valleys of mount Caucasus were more strenuously defended by the native Georgians or Iberians; but the Turkish sultan and his son Malek were indefatigable in this holy war; their captives were compelled to promise a spiritual as well as temporal obedience; and, instead of their collars and bracelets, an iron horse-shoe, a badge of ignominy, was imposed on the infidels who still adhered to the worship of their fathers. The change, however, was not sincere or universal; and, through ages of servitude, the Georgians have maintained the succession of their princes and bishops. But a race of men, whom nature has cast in her most perfect mould, is degraded by poverty, ignorance, and vice; their profession, and still more their practice of christianity, is an empty name; and if they have emerged from heathenism, it is only because they

<sup>4</sup> On an *Almanac* or *Chronicle* for *Agha* (which was the relation of *Baron de Tott* to *Agapet*, *Agapet* being the name of the *Almanac*), *Ann. R.* p. 534, a long and curious inscription shall not tempt me to suspect that he misread the *Almanac* and *Almanac* (which is the name of the *Almanac*), as I should apprehend, very much in the present being; but his *Almanac* is found to confirm, that they were soon afterwards discharged on the orthodox Russians.

\* Had the name of Georgians been known to the Greeks (I mean *Maximus Byzant.* tom. 10, *De Asia*), I should derive it from that agriculture, as the *Georgians* of *Herodotus* (l. 1, c. 18, p. 188, with *Wesseling*). But it appears only among the crusaders, among the Latins (*Ann. & Voyage*, Hist. *Herodot.* c. 19, p. 109b) and *Orlando* of *Herbert*, p. 401), and was derived from St. George of Cappadocia.

CHAP. are too illiterate to remember a metaphysical  
LVIU. creed.\*

The empire  
of the  
East  
from  
the  
time  
of  
the  
fall  
of  
the  
Roman  
empire  
to  
the  
fall  
of  
the  
Turkish  
empire  
in  
1699  
-1771.

The false or genuine magnanimity of Mahmud the Gaznevide, was not imitated by Alp Arslan; and he attacked without scruple the Greek empress Eudocia and her children. His alarming progress compelled her to give herself and her sceptre to the hand of a soldier; and Romanus Diogenes was invested with the imperial purple. His patriotism, and perhaps his pride, urged him from Constantinople within two months after his accession; and the next campaign he most scandalously took the field during the holy festival of easter. In the palace, Diogenes was no more than the husband of Eudocia; in the camp he was the emperor of the Romans, and he sustained that character with feeble resources, and invincible courage. By his spirit and success, the soldiers were taught to act, the subjects to hope, and the enemies to fear. The Turks had penetrated into the heart of Phrygia; but the sultan himself had resigned to his emirs the prosecution of the war; and their numerous detachments were scattered over Asia in the security of conquest. Laden with spoil and careless of discipline, they were separately surprised and defeated by the Greeks: the activity of the emperor seemed to multiply his presence; and while they heard of his expedition to Antioch,

\* *Maximus, Justin. Hist. Eccl. l. p. 633.* See in Clavius's travels (trav. l. p. 171-174), the manners and religion of this barbarous and warlike nation. See the pedigree of their princes from Adam to the present century, in the edition of *St. de Guignes* (tom. 1, p. 425-434).

the enemy felt his sword on the hills of Trebizond. CHAP.  
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In three laborious campaigns, the Turks were driven beyond the Euphrates: in the fourth and last, Romans undertook the deliverance of Armenia. The desolation of the land obliged him to transport a supply of two months provisions; and he marched forwards to the siege of Malazkert,<sup>a</sup> an important fortress in the midway between the modern cities of Arzerum and Van. His army amounted, at the least, to one hundred thousand men. The troops of Constantinople were reinforced by the disorderly multitudes of Phrygia and Cappadocia; but the real strength was composed of the subjects and allies of Europe, the legions of Macedonia, and the squadrons of Bulgaria: the Uzi, a Moldavian horde, who were themselves of the Turkish race;<sup>b</sup> and, above all, the mercenary and adventurous bands of French and Normans. Their lances were commanded by the valiant Urcel of Baluk, the kinsman or father of the Scottish kings,<sup>c</sup> and were allowed to

<sup>a</sup> This city is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Administrandis Imperiis*, l. ii. c. 34, p. 119), and the Byzantine of the thirteenth century, under the name of Malakertia, and by name is confounded with Thandacopron; but Dr. Niebuhr, in his notes and maps, has very properly fixed the situation. Abulfeda (*Geograph. tab. xvii.* p. 213) describes Malazkert as a small town, built with black stone, supplied with water, which flows, &c.

<sup>b</sup> The Uzi of the Turkish writers, *Muzun, Byzant.* *tab. iv.* p. 273-274, are the Gens of the *Uzians* (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 272, tom. iii. p. 193, 608). They appear on the Danube and the Volga, in Armenia, Syria, and Cherson, and the name seems to have been extended to the whole Turkish race.

<sup>c</sup> Urcel (the *Basilica of Courage*) is distinguished by Jeffrey Malaguer (*l. i. c. 33*) among the Norman companions of Rollo, and with the surname of *Baluk*: and our own historians will follow the

*Basilica*



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Defeat of  
the Ro-  
mans,  
A. D. 1071,  
August.

excelled in the exercise of arms, or, according to the Greek style, in the practice of the Pyrrhic dance.

On the report of this bold invasion, which threatened his hereditary dominions, Alp Arslan flew to the scene of action at the head of forty thousand horse.<sup>a</sup> His rapid and skilful evolutions distressed and disunited the superior numbers of the Greeks; and in the defeat of Basilacius, one of their principal generals, he displayed the first example of his valour and clemency. The imprudence of the emperor had separated his forces after the reduction of Malazkerd. It was in vain that he attempted to recal the mercenary Franks: they refused to obey his summons; he disdained to wait their return: the desertion of the Hungarians filled him with anxiety and suspicion; and against the most salutary advice he rushed forward to speedy and decisive action. Had he listened to the fair proposals of the sultan, Romanus might have secured a retreat, perhaps a peace; but in these overtures he supposed the fear or weakness of the enemy, and his answer was conceived in the tone of insult and defiance. "If the barbarian wishes for peace, let him evacuate the ground which he occupies for the encampment of the Ro-

Basilacius came from Normandy to Durham, built Beinead's castle on the Tyne, married an English princess, &c. — *Thomson* (Not. ad *Nicéphore Bryennius*), l. ii. *lib. ii.* has borrowed the subject of his history of the president de Baillou, whose father had exchanged the sword for the gown.

<sup>a</sup> *Strabo* (l. iv. c. 244) assigns this probable number, which is reduced by *Alapostagius* to 15,000 (p. 277), and by *6 Herodian* (p. 108) to 12,000 horse. But the same *Strabo* gives 200,000 men to the emperor, of whom *Alapostagius* says, with eastern hyperbolic enthusiasm, *multitudine equorum et pedum parva instructum*. The Greeks attribute to him only a definition of numbers.

"mans, and surrender his city and palace of Rei as a pledge of his sincerity." Alp Arslan smiled at the vanity of the demand; but he wept the death of so many faithful vassals; and, after a devout prayer, proclaimed a free permission to all who were desirous of retiring from the field. With his own hands he tied up his horse's tail, exchanged his bow and arrows for a mace and scymetar, clothed himself in a white garment, perfumed his body with musk, and declared that if he were vanquished, that spot should be the place of his burial.<sup>1</sup> The sultan himself had affected to cast away his missile weapons; but his hopes of victory were placed in the arrows of the Turkish cavalry, whose squadrons were loosely distributed in the form of a crescent. Instead of the successive lines and reserves of the Grecian tactics, Romanus led his army in a single and solid phalanx, and pressed with vigour and impatience the artful and yielding resistance of the barbarians. In this desultory and fruitless combat he wasted the greater part of a summer's day, till prudence and fatigue compelled him to return to his camp. But a retreat is always perilous in the face of an active foe; and no sooner had the standard been turned to the rear than the phalanx was broken by the base cowardice, or the lesser jealousy, of Andronicus, a rival prince, who disgraced his birth and the purple of the Cæ-

<sup>1</sup> The Byzantine writers do not speak so distinctly of the promise of the sultan; he committed his forces to an *emir*, and availed of a distance, &c. Is it ignorance, or jealousy, or craft?

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sars.\* The Turkish squadrons poured a cloud of arrows on this moment of confusion and lassitude; and the horns of their formidable crescent were closed in the rear of the Greeks. In the destruction of the army and pillage of the camp, it would be needless to mention the number of the slain or captives. The Byzantine writers deplore the loss of an inestimable pearl: they forget to mention, that in this fatal day the Asiatic provinces of Rome were irretrievably sacrificed.

Captivity  
and the loss  
more of the  
emperor.

As long as a hope survived, Romanus attempted to rally and save the relics of his army. When the centre, the imperial station, was left naked on all sides, and encompassed by the victorious Turks, he still, with desperate courage, maintained the fight till the close of day, at the head of the brave and faithful subjects who adhered to his standard. They fell around him; his horse was slain: the emperor was wounded; yet he stood alone and intrepid, till he was oppressed and bound by the strength of multitudes. The glory of this illustrious prize was disputed by a slave and a soldier: a slave who had seen him on the throne of Constantinople, and a soldier whose extreme deformity had been excused on the promise of some signal service. Despoiled of his arms, his jewels, and his purple, Romanus

\* He was the son of the Cæsar John Ducas, brother of the emperor Constantine (Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 165). Nicephorus Bryennius applauds his virtue and excommunes his father (l. i. p. 30, 32, l. ii. p. 53). Yet he avows his enmity to Romanus, a verse in *John* 12. 25. *epi* *basileos*. Lezotius speaks more explicitly of his treason.



spent a dreary and perilous night on the field of battle, amidst a disorderly crowd of the manner barbarians. In the morning the royal captive was presented to Alp Arslan, who doubted of his fortune, till the identity of the person was ascertained by the report of his ambassadors, and by the more pathetic evidence of Basilacius, who embraced with tears the feet of his unhappy sovereign. The successor of Constantine, in a plebeian habit, was led into the Turkish divan, and commanded to kiss the ground before the lord of Asia. He reluctantly obeyed; and Alp Arslan, starting from his throne, is said to have planted his foot on the neck of the Roman emperor.\* But the fact is doubtful; and if, in this moment of insolence, the sultan complied with a national custom, the rest of his conduct has extorted the praise of his bigotted foes, and may afford a lesson to the most civilized ages. He instantly raised the royal captive from the ground; and thrice clasping his hand with tender sympathy, assured him, that his life and dignity should be inviolate in the hands of a prince who had learned to respect the majesty of his equals and the vicissitudes of fortune. From the divan, Romanus was conducted to an adjacent tent, where he was served with pomp and reverence by the officers of the sultan, who, twice each day, seated him in the place of honour at his own table. In a free and familiar conversation of eight days, not a word, not a look, of insult, escaped from the conqueror; but he severely exa-

\* This circumstance, which we read and doubt in *Severus* and *Constantine* *Magnus*, is more probably omitted by *Procopius* and *Paulus*.

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-----  
 sured the unworthy subjects who had deserted their  
 valiant prince in the hour of danger; and gently  
 admonished his antagonist of some errors which he  
 had committed in the management of the war.  
 In the preliminaries of negotiation, Alp Arslan  
 asked him what treatment he expected to receive,  
 and the calm indifference of the emperor displays  
 the freedom of his mind. "If you are cruel,"  
 said he, "you will take my life; if you listen to  
 " pride, you will drag me at your chariot wheels;  
 " if you consult your interest, you will accept a  
 " ransom, and restore me to my country."  
 "And what," continued the sultan, "would  
 " have been your own behaviour, had fortune  
 " smiled on your arms?" The reply of the  
 Greek betrays a sentiment, which prudence, and  
 even gratitude, should have taught him to sup-  
 press. "Had I vanquished," he fiercely said,  
 "I would have inflicted on thy body many a  
 " stripe." The Turkish conqueror smiled at the  
 insolence of his captive; observed that the chris-  
 tian law inculcated the love of enemies and for-  
 giveness of injuries; and nobly declared, that he  
 would not imitate an example which he con-  
 demned. After mature deliberation, Alp Arslan  
 dictated the terms of liberty and peace, a ransom  
 of a million, an annual tribute of three hundred  
 and sixty thousand pieces of gold,\* the marriage  
 of the royal children, and the deliverance of all the  
 muslims who were in the power of the Greeks.

\* The present and salaries are assigned by reason and the Germans.  
 The other Greeks are miserably slain; but Nicephorus Byzantine  
 dares to affirm, that the terms were no *capitulation* *à l'usage*, and that  
 the emperor would have preferred death to a shameful treaty.

Romanus, with a sigh, subscribed this treaty, CHAP. LVII.  
 so disgraceful to the majesty of the empire: he  
 was immediately invested with a Turkish robe of  
 honour; his nobles and patricians were restored  
 to their sovereignty; and the sultan, after a courteous  
 embrace, dismissed him with rich presents and a  
 military guard. No sooner did he reach the con-  
 fines of the empire, than he was informed that  
 the palace and provinces had disclaimed their  
 allegiance to a captive: a sum of two hundred  
 thousand pieces was painfully collected; and the  
 fallen monarch transmitted this part of his ransom,  
 with a sad confession of his impotence and dis-  
 grace. The generosity, or perhaps the ambition,  
 of the sultan, prepared to espouse the cause of his  
 ally; but his designs were prevented by the desert,  
 imprisonment, and death, of Romanus Diogenes.\*

In the treaty of peace, it does not appear that Death of  
Alp Arslan,  
A. D. 1072.  
 Alp Arslan extorted any province or city from  
 the captive emperor; and his revenge was satisfied  
 with the trophies of his victory; and the spoils of  
 Anatolia, from Antioch to the Black sea. The  
 fairest part of Asia was subject to his laws: twelve  
 hundred princes, or the sons of princes, stood be-  
 fore his throne; and two hundred thousand soldiers  
 marched under his banners. The sultan disclaimed

\* The subject and captivity of Romanus Diogenes may be traced in  
 John Kirik's *History of the Seljuks*, tom. iv. p. 415-448. *Revue*, tom. ii.  
 p. 281-284. *Nouvelles Recueils*, tom. ii. p. 21-32. *Cyren.* p. 275-277.  
*Compendium Mediceum*, p. 131. *Chronica*, Hist. turcica p. 361, 364.  
*Amplified*, *Byzant.* p. 271. *Chronica*, p. 102, 103. de *Georgio*,  
 tom. iii. p. 212-211. Besides my old acquaintance *Samson* and  
*Amulphatoghli*, the historian of the Turks has consulted *Atabek*,  
 and his grandson *Benjamin*, a Chronicle of the Caliphs by *Boy-*  
*enli*, *Adelmastore* of Egypt, and *Nesiri* of Aleppo.



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to pursue the fugitive Greeks; but he meditated the more glorious conquest of Turkestan, the original seat of the house of Seljuk. He moved from Bagdad to the banks of the Oxus; a bridge was thrown over the river; and twenty days were consumed in the passage of his troops. But the progress of the great king was retarded by the governor of Herzem; and Joseph the Carizmian presumed to defend his fortress against the powers of the East. When he was produced a captive in the royal tent, the sultan, instead of praising his valour, severely reproached his obstinate folly; and the insolent replies of the rebel provoked a sentence, that he should be fastened to four stakes and left to expire in that painful situation. At this command, the desperate Carizmian, drawing a dagger, rushed headlong towards the throne: the guards raised their battle-axes; their zeal was checked by Alp Arslan, the most skillful archer of the age; he drew his bow, but his foot slipped, the arrow glanced aside, and he received in his breast the dagger of Joseph, who was instantly cut in pieces. The wound was mortal; and the Turkish prince bequeathed a dying admonition to the pride of kings. "In my youth," said Alp Arslan, "I was advised by a sage, to humble myself before God; to distrust my own strength; and never to despise the most contemptible foe. I have neglected these lessons; and my neglect has been deservedly punished. Yesterday, as from an eminence, I beheld the numbers, the discipline, and the spirit, of my armies; the earth seemed to tremble under my feet; and I said in my heart, surely thou art the king

" of the world, the greatest and most invincible CHAR.  
 " of warriors. These armies are no longer mine; LVII.  
 " and in the confidence of my personal strength,  
 " I now fall by the hand of an assassin." Alp  
 Arslan possessed the virtues of a Turk and a Mus-  
 sulman; his voice and stature commanded the  
 reverence of mankind; his face was shaded with  
 long whiskers; and his ample turban was fa-  
 shioned in the shape of a crown. The remains  
 of the sultan were deposited in the tomb of the  
 Seljukian dynasty; and the passenger might read  
 and meditate this useful inscription: "*O ye*  
 "*who have seen the glory of Alp Arslan, exalted*  
 "*to the heavens, repair to Mian, and you will*  
 "*behold it buried in the dust!*" The annihilation  
 of the inscription, and the tomb itself, more  
 forcibly proclaims the instability of human great-  
 ness.

During the life of Alp Arslan, his eldest son Rags and  
 had been acknowledged as the future sultan of the prosperity  
 Turks. On his father's death, the inheritance of Malek  
 was disputed by an uncle, a cousin, and a brother: Shah,  
 they drew their scymetars, and assembled their A. D. 1073  
 followers; and the triple victory of Malek Shah' -1092.  
 instantly diminished his own reputation and the right of pri-

\* This interesting sketch is told by O'Riordan (p. 163, 164), and M.  
 de Guignes (Ann. de l'Asie, p. 212, 213). Some of our Oriental writers, but  
 neither of them have translated the spirit of Elmasri (Hist. Turque,  
 xi. 344, 345).

† A critic of high repute (see his Dr. Johnson), who has severely  
 criticised the epitaphs of Pope, might easily in this instance descrip-  
 tive of the words, "repair to Mian," since the reader must already  
 be at Mian before he could peruse the inscription.

‡ The Bibliothecae Orientalis has given the text of the reign of Shah  
 617, 618, 644, 645, 646; and the Histoire Generale des Turcs  
 (Ann.

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magnitude. In every age, and more especially in Asia, the thirst of power has inspired the same passions and occasioned the same disorders: but, from the long series of civil war, it would not be easy to extract a sentiment more pure and magnanimous than is contained in the saying of the Turkish prince. On the eve of the battle, he performed his devotions at Thous, before the tomb of the Imam Riza. As the sultan rose from the ground, he asked his vizir Nizam, who had knelt beside him, what had been the object of his secret petition: "That your arms may be crowned with victory," was the prudent, and most probably the sincere answer of the minister. "For my part," replied the generous Malek, "I implored the Lord of hosts, that he would take from me my life and crown, if my brother be more worthy than myself to reign over the Muslims." The favourable judgment of heaven was ratified by the caliph: and for the first time, the sacred title of commander of the faithful was communicated to a barbarian. But this barbarian, by his personal merit, and the extent of his empire, was the greatest prince of his age. After the settlement of Persia and Syria, he marched at the head of innumerable armies, to achieve the conquest of Turkestan, which had been undertaken by his father. In his passage of the Oxus, the boatmen, who had been employed in transporting some troops, complained, that

(*Ann.* III, p. 214-215) has added the usual mixture of repetition, enumeration, and superfluity. Without these two learned Frenchmen, I should be illid indeed in the Eastern world.



their payment was assigned as the revenues of Antioch. The sultan frowned at this proposterous choice; but he smiled at the artful flattery of his vizir. "It was not to postpone their reward, that I selected those remote places, but to leave a memorial to posterity, that, under your reign, Antioch and the Oxus were subject to the same sovereign." But this description of his limits was unjust and parsimonious: beyond the Oxus he reduced to his obedience the cities of Bochara, Carizme, and Samarcand, and crushed each rebellious slave, or independent savage, who dared to resist. Malok passed the Sihoun or Jaxartes, the last boundary of Persian civilization: the hordes of Turkestan yielded to his supremacy; his name was inserted on the coins, and in the prayers of Cashgar, a Tartar kingdom on the extreme borders of China. From the Chinese frontier, he stretched his immediate jurisdiction or feudatory sway to the west and south, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix. Instead of resigning himself to the luxury of his harem, the shepherd king, both in peace and war, was in action and in the field. By the perpetual motion of the royal camp, each province was successively blessed with his presence; and he is said to have perambulated twelve times the wide extent of his dominions, which surpassed the Asiatic reign of Cyrus and the caliphs. Of these expeditions, the most pious and splendid was the pilgrimage of Mecca: the freedom and safety of the caravans were pro-

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tested by his arms; the citizens and pilgrims were enriched by the profusion of his alms; and the desert was cheered by the places of relief and refreshment, which he instituted for the use of his brethren. Hunting was the pleasure, and even the passion of the sultan, and his train consisted of forty-seven thousand horses; but after the mas-sacre of a Turkish chase, for each piece of game, he bestowed a piece of gold on the poor, a slight atonement, at the expence of the people, for the cost and mischief of the amusement of kings. In the peaceful prosperity of his reign, the cities of Asia were adorned with palaces and hospitals, with moschs and collèges; few departed from his divan without reward, and none without justice. The language and literature of Persia revived under the house of Seljuk;<sup>\*</sup> and if Malek emulated the liberality of a Turk less potent than himself,<sup>†</sup> his palace might resound with the songs of an hundred poets. The sultan bestowed a more serious and learned care on the reformation of the calendar, which was effected by a general assembly of the astronomers of the East. By a law of the prophet, the moslems are confined to the irregular course of the lunar months; in

\* See an extensive dissertation at the end of Sir William Jones's history of Asiat. Mus., and the notices in the poets, Anasî, Anvarî, Bostânî, &c. in the Bibliothéque Orientale.

† His name was Khosroû Kams. Four bags were placed round his neck, and to be listened to the cry, he cast handfuls of gold and silver to the poets (Husâvî, p. 107). All this may be true; but I do not understand how he could begin to Transmute in the time of Malek Shâh, and much less how Khosroû could survive from his power and glory. I suspect that the beginning, not the end, of the eleventh century, is the time of his reign.

Persia, since the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival;<sup>a</sup> but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected; the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days; and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces. The reign of Malek was illustrated by the *Gelataura* era; and all errors, either past or future, were corrected by a computation of time, which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian, style.<sup>b</sup>

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In a period when Europe was plunged in the deepest barbarism, the light and splendour of Asia may be ascribed to the docility rather than the knowledge of the Turkish conquerors. An ample share of their wisdom and virtue is due to a Persian vizir, who ruled the empire under the reigns of Alp Arslan and his son, Nizam, one of the most illustrious ministers of the East, was honoured by the caliph as an oracle of religion and science; he was trusted by the sultan as the faithful vicegerent of his power and justice. After an administration of thirty years, the fame of the vizir, his wealth, and even his services, were transformed into crimes. He was overthrown by the insidious arts of a woman and a rival; and his fall was hastened by a rash declaration, that his cap and ink-horn, the badges of his office, were

Bl. Arab.  
a. 1078.

<sup>a</sup> See Clavdian, *Voyages en Perse*, tom. II, p. 233.

<sup>b</sup> The *Gelataura* era (*Gelataurika*, glory of the sun), was one of the names by which Malek Shah is said to have fixed to the 15th of March, a. d. 1078. Dr. Hyde has produced the original inscription of the Persian and Arabic, the respective versions of Persepolis, a. 14, p. 200-211.



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 connocted by the divine decree with the sword  
 and diadem of the sultan. At the age of about  
 three years, the venerable statesman was dismissed  
 by his master, accused by his enemies, and mur-  
 dered by a fanatic: the last words of Nizam at-  
 tested his innocence, and the remainder of Ma-  
 lek's life was short and inglorious. From Ispahan,  
 the scene of this disgraceful transaction, the sultan  
 moved to Bagdad, with the design of transplan-  
 ting the caliph, and of fixing his own residence in  
 the capital of the moslem world. The feeble  
 successor of Mahomet obtained a respite of ten  
 days; and before the expiration of the term, the  
 barbarian was summoned by the angel of death.  
 His ambassadors at Constantinople had asked in  
 marriage a Roman princess: but the proposal  
 was decently eluded; and the daughter of  
 Alexius, who might herself have been the victim,  
 expresses her abhorrence of this unnatural con-  
 junction.\* The daughter of the sultan was be-  
 stowed on the caliph Moctadi, with the imperious  
 condition, that, renouncing the society of his  
 wives and concubines, he should for ever confine  
 himself to this honourable alliance.

Division of  
 the Sel-  
 jukim em-  
 pire.

The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire  
 expired in the person of Malek Shah. His vacant  
 throne was disputed by his brother and his four  
 sons; and, after a series of civil wars, the treaty  
 which reconciled the surviving candidates con-  
 firmed a lasting separation in the *Persian* dynasty,

\* The epistle of this Persian royalty to *Gregor barhebraeus* states:  
 Anna Comnena was only nine years old at the end of the reign of Ma-  
 lek Shah (i. e. 1071), and when she speaks of his assassination, she  
 confounds the sultan with the vicar (Alexius, l. vi, p. 177, 178).

the eldest and principal branch of the house of Seljuk. The three younger dynasties were those of *Kerman*, of *Syria*, and of *Roman*: the first of these commanded an extensive, though obscure,\* dominion on the shores of the Indian ocean: the second expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo and Damascus; and the third, our peculiar care, invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor. The generous policy of Malek contributed to their elevation: he allowed the princes of his blood, even those whom he had vanquished in the field, to seek new kingdoms worthy of their ambition; nor was he displeased that they should draw away the more ardent spirits, who might have disturbed the tranquillity of his reign. As the supreme head of his family and nation, the great sultan of Persia commanded the obedience and tribute of his royal brethren: the thrones of Kerman and Nice, of Aleppo and Damascus; the Atabeks, and emirs of Syria and Mesopotamia, erected their standards under the shadow of his sceptre; and the hordes of Turkman overspread the plains of the western Asia. After the death of Malek, the bands of union and subordination were re-

\* See however, that the industry of M. de Gough could only copy from A. p. 244. Gough, p. 244, A. 244, the history, in which he, of the Seljukids of Kerman, in *Asiaticque Orientale*. They were extinguished before the end of the tenth century.

\* Tavernier, perhaps the only traveller who has named Kerman, describes the capital as a great numerous village, twenty-five days journey from Ispahan, and twenty-seven from Ormus: in the midst of a fertile country (Voyages en Turquie &c. in Persie, p. 107, 110).

\* It appears from Ameer Cossim, that the Turks of Asia Minor stayed the spirit and oblation of the great sultan (Moxley, p. 10, p. 310), and that the two sons of Sultan were detained in his court (c. 1806).

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laxed and finally dissolved : the indulgence of the house of Seljuk invested their slaves with the inheritance of kingdoms ; and, in the Oriental style, a crowd of princes arose from the dust of their feet.\*

Conquest  
of Asia  
Minor by  
the Turks,  
A. D. 1071,  
1084.

A prince of the royal line, Cutulmish, the son of Izrail, the son of Seljuk, had fallen in a battle against Alp Arslan, and the humane victor had dropt a tear over his grave. His five sons, strong in arms, ambitious of power, and eager for revenge, unsheathed their scymetars against the son of Alp Arslan. The two armies expected the signal, when the caliph, forgetful of the majesty which secluded him from vulgar eyes, interposed his venerable mediation. " Instead of shedding the  
" blood of your brethren, your brethren both in  
" descent and faith, unite your forces in an  
" holy war against the Greeks, the enemies of  
" God and his apostle." They listened to his voice ; the sultan embraced his rebellious kinsmen ; and the eldest, the valiant Soliman, accepted the royal standard, which gave him the  
" free conquest and hereditary command of the  
provinces of the Roman empire, from Arzeroun to Constantinople, and the unknown regions of the West." Accompanied by his four brothers,

\* This expression is quoted by Feltz de la Cruz (*Vie de Gengis Khan*, p. 161) from some poet, most probably a Persian.

\* On the conquest of Asia Minor, M. de Guignes has derived no assistance from the Turkish or Arabian writers, who produce a naked list of the Seljukides of Roum. The Greeks are unwilling to expose their shame, and we must extract some hints from *Byzantine* (p. 840, 843), *Nicéphore Bryennius* (p. 98, 91, 92, &c. 103, 104), and *Anna Comnène* (*Alexias*, p. 91, 92, &c. 108, &c.).



he passed the Euphrates; the Turkish camp was soon seated in the neighbourhood of Kuteich in Phrygia; and his flying cavalry laid waste the country as far as the Hellespont and the Black sea. Since the decline of the empire, the peninsula of Asia Minor had been exposed to the transient, though destructive, inroads of the Persians and Saracens; but the fruits of a lasting conquest were reserved for the Turkish sultan; and his arms were introduced by the Greeks, who aspired to reign on the ruins of their country. Since the captivity of Romulus, six years the feeble son of Eudocia had trembled under the weight of the imperial crown, till the provinces of the east and west were lost in the same month by a double rebellion: of either chief Nicephorus was the common name: but the surnames of Bryennius and Botoniates distinguish the European and Asiatic candidates. Their reasons, or rather their promises, were weighed in the divan: and, after some hesitation, Soliman declared himself in favour of Botoniates, opened a free passage to his troops in their march from Antioch to Nice, and joined the banner of the crescent to that of the cross. After his ally had ascended the throne of Constantinople, the sultan was hospitably entertained in the suburb of Chrysopolis or Scutari; and a body of two thousand Turks was transported into Europe, to whose dexterity and courage the new emperor was indebted for the defeat and captivity of his rival Bryennius. But the conquest of Europe was dearly purchased by the sacrifice of Asia: Constantinople was de-

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.....

prived of the obedience and revenue of the provinces beyond the Bosphorus and Hellespont: the regular progress of the Turks, who fortified the passes of the rivers and mountains, left no hope of their retreat or expulsion. Another candidate implored the aid of the sultan: Mehemet, in his purple robes and red buskins, attended the motions of the Turkish camp: the depending cities were tempted by the summons of a Roman prince, who immediately surrendered them into the hands of the barbarians. These acquisitions were confirmed by a treaty of peace with the emperor Alexius: his fear of Robert compelled him to seek the friendship of Soliman; and it was not till after the sultan's death that he extended as far as Nicomedia, about sixty miles from Constantinople, the eastern boundary of the Roman world. Trebizond alone, defended on either side by the sea and mountains, preserved at the extremity of the Euxine the ancient character of a Greek colony, and the future destiny of a christian empire.

The Holy-  
Land being  
lost, the  
Rome.

Since the first conquests of the caliphs, the establishment of the Turks in Anatolia or Asia Minor was the most deplorable loss which the church and empire had sustained. By the propagation of the Moslem faith, Soliman deserved the name of *Gazi*, a holy champion; and his new kingdom of the Romans, or of *Roma*, was added to the tables of Oriental geography. It is described as extending from the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the Black sea to the confines of Syria: pregnant with mines of silver and iron,

of alum and copper, fruitful in corn and wine, and productive of cattle and excellent horses. The wealth of Lydia, the arts of the Greeks, the splendour of the Augustan age, existed only in books and ruins, which were equally obscure in the eyes of the Scythian conquerors. Yet, in the present decay, Anatolia still contains some wealthy and populous cities; and, under the Byzantine empire, they were far more flourishing in numbers, size, and opulence. By the choice of the asian, Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, was preferred for his palace and fortress: the seat of the Seljukian dynasty of Roum was planted one hundred miles from Constantinople; and the divinity of Christ was denied and derided in the same temple in which it had been pronounced by the first general synod of the catholics. The unity of God, and the mission of Mahomet, were preached in the mosche; the Arabian learning was taught in the schools; the callis judged according to the law of the koran; the Turkish manners and language prevailed in the cities; and Turkman camps were scattered over the plains and mountains of Anatolia. On the hard conditions of tribute and servitude, the Greek christians might enjoy the exercise of their religion; but their most holy churches were profaned; their priests and bishops were insulted; they were compelled

<sup>1</sup> Such is the description of Roum by Hæfem the Armenian, whose *Terræ Denary* may be found in the collections of Barrois and Begerus (See Akenside's, *Geograph. clusæ*, vol. ii. p. 281-283).

<sup>2</sup> *Illich eueyngianian eueyngianian eueyngianian eueyngianian eueyngianian* (Gedern. *Alph. Hist. Harvood*, 2. i. p. 160). It is not enough that



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to suffer the triumph of the pagans, and the apostasy of their brethren; many thousand children were marked by the knife of circumcision, and many thousand captives were devoted to the service or the pleasures of their masters.<sup>1</sup> After the loss of Asia, Antioch still maintained her primitive allegiance to Christ and Cæsar; but the solitary province was separated from all Roman aid, and surrounded on all sides by the Mahometan powers. The despair of Philaretus, the governor, prepared the sacrifice of his religion and loyalty, had not his guilt been prevented by his son, who hastened to the Nicene palace, and offered to deliver this valuable prize into the hands of Soliman. The ambitious sultan mounted on horseback, and in twelve nights (for he reposed in the day) performed a march of six hundred miles. Antioch was oppressed by the speed and secrecy of his enterprise; and the dependant cities, as far as Laodicea and the confines of Aleppo,<sup>2</sup> obeyed the example of the metropolis. From Laodicea to the Thracian Bosphorus, or

we should had a parallel passage of the same people in the present age. "Il n'est point d'honneur que ces Turcs n'aient commis, et  
"immédiate aux soldats ottomans, qui dans le cas d'une ville non  
"contene de disposer de tout à leur gré prétendent encore aux suc-  
"cès les moins desirables. Quelque bispas ont porté leurs attentats  
"sur la personne du vieux pâtre de la syraguon, et celle de l'Arché-  
"vêque grec." *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, tom. II. p. 180.

<sup>1</sup> The emperor, at Antioch, describes the scene of a Turkish camp as if they had been present. *Mæcus corruptus in camporum Alarum multipliciter repetitis diversisque cantibus resonantibus*; (as that the true meaning is) cum illis uoluntatibus carminibus precantibus salutando congregatus. *Mæcus enim puerum ad Alarum, &c.*

<sup>2</sup> See Antioch, and the death of Soliman, in *Anna Comnenæ* (Antioch, l. vi, p. 169, 180), with the notes of Ducas.

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arm of St. George, the conquests and reign of  
 Nouman extended thirty days journey in length,  
 and in breadth about ten or fifteen, between the  
 rocks of Lycia and the Black Sea.<sup>2</sup> The Turk-  
 ish ignorance of navigation protected, for a while,  
 the inglorious safety of the emperor; but no  
 wonder had a fleet of two hundred ships been  
 constructed by the hands of the captive Greeks,  
 that Alexis trembled behind the walls of his  
 capital. His plaintive epistles were dispersed  
 over Europe, to excite the compassion of the  
 Latins, and to paint the danger, the weakness,  
 and the riches, of the city of Constantinople.<sup>3</sup>

But the most interesting conquest of the Sel-  
 jukian Turks, was that of Jerusalem,<sup>4</sup> which  
 soon became the theatre of nations. In their  
 capitulation with Omar, the inhabitants had sti-  
 pulated the assurance of their religion and pro-  
 perty; but the articles were interpreted by a  
 master against whom it was dangerous to dispute;

<sup>2</sup> William of Tyre (l. i. c. 9, 10, p. 323) gives the most authentic and deplorable account of these Turkish conquests.

<sup>3</sup> In his epistle to the count of Flanders, Alexis seems to fall too low beneath his character and dignity; yet it is opposed by Ducas (Not. ad Alexiad. p. 323, &c.), and perspicuous by the abbot Gauthier, a contemporary historian. The Greek text (in longer letters) and each translator and scribe might say with Gauthier (p. 413), *verba venia mihi, a privilegio of most illustrious sustineo*.

<sup>4</sup> Our best fund for the history of Jerusalem, from Herodotus to the crusades, is contained in two large and original passages of Willelmus archbishop of Tyre (l. i. c. 1-10, l. xviii, c. 2, 3), the principal author of the *Gesta Dei per Francos*. M. de Guignes has composed a very learned *Mémoire sur le Comté de Jérusalem dans le Levant, selon les Écrivains, &c.* (Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxvii, p. 467-507).

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and in the four hundred years of the reign of the caliphs, the political climate of Jerusalem was exposed to the vicissitudes of storms and sunshine.\* By the increase of proselytes and population, the unholiness might excuse their usurpation of three fourths of the city: but a peculiar quarter was reserved for the patriarch with his clergy and people: a tribute of two pieces of gold was the price of protection; and the sepulchre of Christ, with the church of the resurrection, was still left in the hands of his votaries. Of these votaries, the most numerous and respectable portion were strangers to Jerusalem: the pilgrimages to the Holy land had been stimulated, rather than suppressed, by the conquests of the Arabs; and the enthusiasm which had always prompted these perilous journeys, was nourished by the congenial passions of grief and indignation. A crowd of pilgrims from the East and West continued to visit the holy sepulchre, and the adjacent sanctuaries, more especially at the festival of Easter: and the Greeks and Latins, the Nestorians and Jacobites, the Copts and Abyssinians, the Armenians and Georgians, maintained the chapels, the clergy, and the poor of their respective communions. The harmony of prayer in so many various tongues, the worship of so many nations in the common temple of their

\* See *Notitia Dionysiana de possessione Hierosolym.* l. 2. c. 1. planitiesque ecclesiarum, intercella, et aggregatum sancti templi perambulatione perambulatio et imperator quidam (l. 1, c. 2, p. 600). The history of William of Tyre is by no means contradictory; but by his account of 1187, from the loss to the recovery of Jerusalem, he exceeds the time allowed by 20 years.



religion, might have afforded a spectacle of edification and peace; but the zeal of the christian was embittered by hatred and revenge; and in the kingdom of a suffering Messiah, who had pardoned his enemies, they aspired to command and persecute their spiritual brethren. The presence was asserted by the spirit and numbers of the Franks; and the greatness of Charlemagne protected both the Latin pilgrims, and the catholics of the East. The poverty of Carthage, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, was relieved by the alms of that pious emperor; and many monasteries of Palestine were founded or restored by his liberal devotion. Harun Alrashid, the greatest of the Abbasides, esteemed in his christian brother a similar supremacy of genius and power: their friendship was cemented by a frequent intercourse of gifts and embassies; and the caliph, without resigning the substantial dominion, presented the emperor with the keys of the holy sepulchre, and perhaps of the city of Jerusalem. In the decline of the Carolingian monarchy, the republic of Amalphi promoted the interest of trade and religion in the East. Her vessels transported the Latin pilgrims to the coasts of Egypt and Palestine, and deserved, by their useful imports, the favour and alliance of the Fatimite caliph: an annual fair was instituted

<sup>1</sup> For the transactions of Charlemagne with the Holy land, see Eginhart *de vita Karoli Magni*, c. 36, p. 115-117. Eusebius *de Physiologia* (i. e. *Abbasibus in Syria*), l. 6, c. 24, p. 70, and Pagi (Cassius, *Ann.*, iii, c. 6, 800, No. 12, 13, 14).

<sup>2</sup> The caliph granted his privileges. Amalphiensis *reliq. scripti*, of which introduction Okenroth, p. 134. The *Statute of Venice* is

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on mount Calvary; and the Italian merchants founded the convent and hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the cradle of the monastic and military order, which has since reigned in the isles of Rhodes and of Malta. Had the christian pilgrims been content to revere the tomb of a prophet, the disciples of Mahomet, instead of blaming, would have imitated, their piety: but these rigid *antiturians* were scandalised by a worship which represents the birth, death, and resurrection, of a God: the catholic images were branded with the name of idols; and the Moslems smiled with indignation<sup>a</sup> at the miraculous flame, which was kindled on the eve of Easter in the holy sepulchre.<sup>b</sup> This pious fraud, first devised in the ninth century,<sup>c</sup> was devoutly cherished by the Latin crusaders, and is annually repeated by the clergy of the Greek, Armenian, and Coptic sects,<sup>d</sup> who

Egypt and Palestine cannot produce so odd a story, unless we adopt the laughable translation of a Frenchman who mistook the two factions of the sicarii (Vandals or Persians) for the Venetians and Parisians.

<sup>a</sup> An Arabic sarcasm of Jerusalem (apud Amosani; *Biblioth. Orient.* tom. i, p. 678, tom. iv, p. 288) attacks the idolatry of the empire and the Islamism; yet Constantine promises to appeal to the Mahometans themselves for this perpetual miracle.

<sup>b</sup> In his dissertations on ecclesiastical history, the learned Mosheim has impartially dismissed this pretended miracle (tom. ii, p. 214-208), de latrone sancti sepulchri.

<sup>c</sup> William of Malmesbury (l. iv, c. ii, p. 205) quotes the itinerary of the Monk Bernart, an eye witness, who visited Jerusalem a. d. 870. The miracle is confirmed by another pilgrim some years older; and Mosheim ascribes the invention to the Franks, soon after the death of Charlemagne.

<sup>d</sup> Our travellers, *Sandart* (p. 134), *Tavernier* (p. 621-627), *Mandrot* (p. 84, 85), &c. describe this extravagant ruse. The catholics are puzzled to decide when the miracle ended, and the trick began.

impose on the credulous spectators\* for their own benefit, and that of their tyrants. In every age, a principle of toleration has been fortified by a sense of interest; and the revenue of the prince and his emir was increased each year, by the expence and tribute of so many thousand strangers.

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The revolution which transferred the sceptre from the Abbassides to the Fatimites was a benefit, rather than an injury to the Holy land. A sovereign resident in Egypt was more sensible of the importance of christian trade; and the emirs of Palestine were less remote from the justice and power of the throne. But the third of these Fatimite caliphs was the famous Hakem,<sup>2</sup> a frantic youth, who was delivered by his impiety and despotism from the fear either of God or man; and whose reign was a wild mixture of vice and folly. Regardless of the most ancient customs of Egypt, he imposed on the women an absolute confinement: the restraint excited the clamours of both sexes; their clamours provoked his fury; a part of Old Cairo was delivered to the flames; and the guards and citizens were engaged many days in a bloody conflict. At first the caliph de-

Under the  
Fatimite  
caliphs,  
A. D. 969  
-1076.

\* The Orientals themselves confirm the fraud; and plead necessity and calidation (*Memoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, tom. ii, p. 140. Joseph Abudant, *Hist. Egypt.* c. 20;) but I will not attempt, with Niebuhr, to explain the mode. Our travellers have failed with the blood of St. Januarius at Naples.

<sup>2</sup> See d'Hartleben (*Biblioth. Orientale*, p. 411). Bonardin (*Hist. Fatimite*, Alex, p. 390, 397, 400, 407). Bonardin (*Hist. Savonne*, p. 321-372); and Meiri (p. 384-386), an historian of Egypt, translated by Beke from Arabic into German, and verbally interpreted to me by a friend.



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clared himself a zealous mussulman, the founder or benefactor of mosques and colleges: two hundred and ninety copies of the koran were transcribed at his expense in letters of gold: and he edict extirpated the vineyards of the Upper Egypt. But his vanity was soon flattered by the hope of introducing a new religion: he aspired above the fame of a prophet, and styled himself the visible image of the most high God, who, after nine apparitions on earth, was at length manifest in his royal person. At the name of Hakem, the lord of the living and the dead, every knee was bent in religious adoration: his mysteries were performed on a mountain near Cairo: sixteen thousand converts had signed his profession of faith: and at the present hour, a free and warlike people, the Druses of mount Libanus, are persuaded of the life and dignity of a madman and tyrant.\* In his divine character, Hakem hated the Jews and christians, as the servants of his rivals; while some remains of prejudice or prudence still pleaded in favour of the law of Mahomet. Both in Egypt and Palestine, his cruel and wanton persecution made some martyrs and many apostates: the common rights, and special

\* The religion of the Druses is coloured by their ignorance and hypocrisy. Their secret doctrines are confined to the elect who pursue a contemplative life: and the vulgar Druses, the most indolent of men, mechanically conform to the worship of the saints and churches of their neighbourhood. The little that is, or deserves to be known, may be seen in our historians Niebuhr (voyages, tom. II. p. 234-237), and the second volume of the events and conjectures from vols of H. de Vaux.



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Introduc-  
tion.  
ages, &c.  
1024, &c.

gers were frequent, and the opportunities rare; but the conversion of Hungary opened a safe communication between Germany and Greece. The charity of St. Stephen, the apostle of the kingdom, relieved and conducted his itinerant brethren,\* and from Belgrade to Antioch, they traversed fifteen hundred miles of a christian empire. Among the Franks, the zeal of pilgrimage prevailed beyond the example of former times; and the roads were covered with multitudes of either sex, and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life, so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their redeemer. Princes and prelates abandoned the care of their dominions; and the numbers of these pious caravans were a prelude to the armies which marched in the ensuing age under the banner of the cross. About thirty years before the first crusade, the archbishop of Mentz, with the bishops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratisbon, undertook this laborious journey from the Rhine to the Jordan; and the multitude of their followers amounted to seven thousand persons. At Constantinople, they were hospitably entertained by the emperor; but the ostentation of their wealth provoked the assault of the wild Arabs: they drew their swords with scrupulous reluctance, and sustained a siege in the village of Capernaum, till they were rescued by the venal protection of the Fatimite emir. After visiting the holy places, they embarked for Italy,

\* Glaber, l. vii. c. 1. Matins (Hist. Critic. Regum Hungariorum, tom. i. p. 324-312) examines whether St. Stephen founded a monastery at Jerusalem.



but only a remnant of two thousand arrived in safety in their native land. Ingulphus, a secretary of William the conqueror, was a companion of this pilgrimage: he observes that they sallied from Normandy, thirty stout and well-appointed horsemen; but that they repassed the Alps, twenty miserable palmers, with the staff in their hand, and the wallet at their back.<sup>2</sup>

After the defeat of the Romans, the tranquillity of the Fatimite caliphs was invaded by the Turks.<sup>3</sup> One of the lieutenants of Malek Shah, Atsiz the Carizmian, marched into Syria at the head of a powerful army, and reduced Damascus by famine and the sword. Hems, and the other cities of the province, acknowledged the caliph of Bagdad and the sultan of Persia; and the victorious emir advanced without resistance to the banks of the Nile: the Fatimite was preparing to fly into the heart of Africa; but the negroes of his guard and the inhabitants of Cairo made a desperate sally, and repulsed the Turk from the confines of Egypt. In his retreat, he indulged the license of slaughter and rapine; the judge and notaries of Jerusalem were invited to his camp; and their execution was followed by the massacre of three thousand citizens. The cruelty or the desert of Atsiz was soon punished by the

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Conquest of  
Jerusalem  
by the  
Turks, &c. A.  
1078-1096.

<sup>2</sup> Bernardus (A. D. 1084, No. 42-44) has transmitted the greater part of the original narration of Ingulphus, Maresius, and Landwerman.

<sup>3</sup> See Eutagius (Hist. Saracen. p. 349, 350), and Abulpharagus Dynast. pp. 237, vers. Putsch. M. de Guesnes (Hist. des Rois, tom. III, part I, p. 313, 316) adds the particulars, or rather the sources, of Atsiz's and Nour's

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sultan Tancrith, the brother of Malek Shah, who, with a higher title and more formidable powers, asserted the dominion of Syria and Palestine. The house of Seljuk reigned about twenty years in Jerusalem;\* but the hereditary command of the holy city and territory was entrusted or abandoned to the emir Ortok, the chief of a tribe of Turkmans, whose children, after their expulsion from Palestine, formed two dynasties on the borders of Armenia and Assyria.<sup>†</sup> The Oriental christians and the Latin pilgrims deplored a revolution, which, instead of the regular government and old alliance of the caliphs, imposed on their necks the iron yoke of the strangers of the north.<sup>‡</sup> In his court and camp the great sultan had adopted in some degree the arts and manners of Persia; but the body of the Turkish nation, and more especially the pastoral tribes, still breathed the fierceness of the desert. From Nice to Jerusalem, the western countries of Asia were a scene of foreign and domestic hostility; and the shepherds

\* From the expedition of Ibn Aboi Isâ, A. D. 455, i. e. 1059, to the expulsion of the Ghazis (A. D. 1080). The *Willelmus Tyr.* l. i. c. 6, p. 313, asserts, that Jerusalem was thirty-eight times in the hands of the Turks; and an Arabic chronicle, quoted for Paris, tom. ii. p. 307, supposes, that the city was reduced by a Christian general by the assistance of the sultan of Bagdad, A. D. 423, i. e. 1019. These dates are not very compatible with the general history of Asia; and I am sure, that in 1019, the Egyptian Sultanate of Cairo still presided in Palestine (Barocæus, v. A. 1004, No. 36).

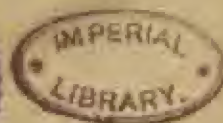
† De Gêloges Hist. des Huns, tom. 4, p. 343, 344.

‡ *Willelmus Tyr.* l. i. c. 6, p. 313, who seems bound to magnify the christian preferences. The Turks could not show from each page, as The master of the Franks p. 100, Eastern doctors (and Europe does not except) of this situation too.

of Palestine, who held a precarious sway on a doubtful frontier, had neither leisure nor capacity to avault the slow profits of commercial and religious freedom. The pilgrims, who, through innumerable perils, had reached the gates of Jerusalem, were the victims of private rapine or public oppression, and often sunk under the pressure of famine and disease, before they were permitted to salute the holy sepulchre. A spirit of native barbarism, or recent zeal, prompted the Turkmen to insult the clergy of every sect: the patriarch was dragged by the hair along the pavement, and cast into a dungeon, to extort a ransom from the sympathy of his flock; and the divine worship in the church of the resurrection was often disturbed by the savage rudeness of its masters. The pathetic tale excited the millions of the West to march under the standard of the cross to the relief of the Holy land: and yet how trifling is the sum of these accumulated evils, if compared with the single act of the sacrilege of Hakem, which had been so patiently endured by the Latin christians! A slighter provocation inflamed the more irascible temper of their descendants: a new spirit had arisen of religious chivalry and papal dominion: a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling; and the sensation vibrated to the heart of Europe.

END OF THE Tenth VOLUME.

*Menckel, Dalg, and Street  
printers, Edinburgh.*





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